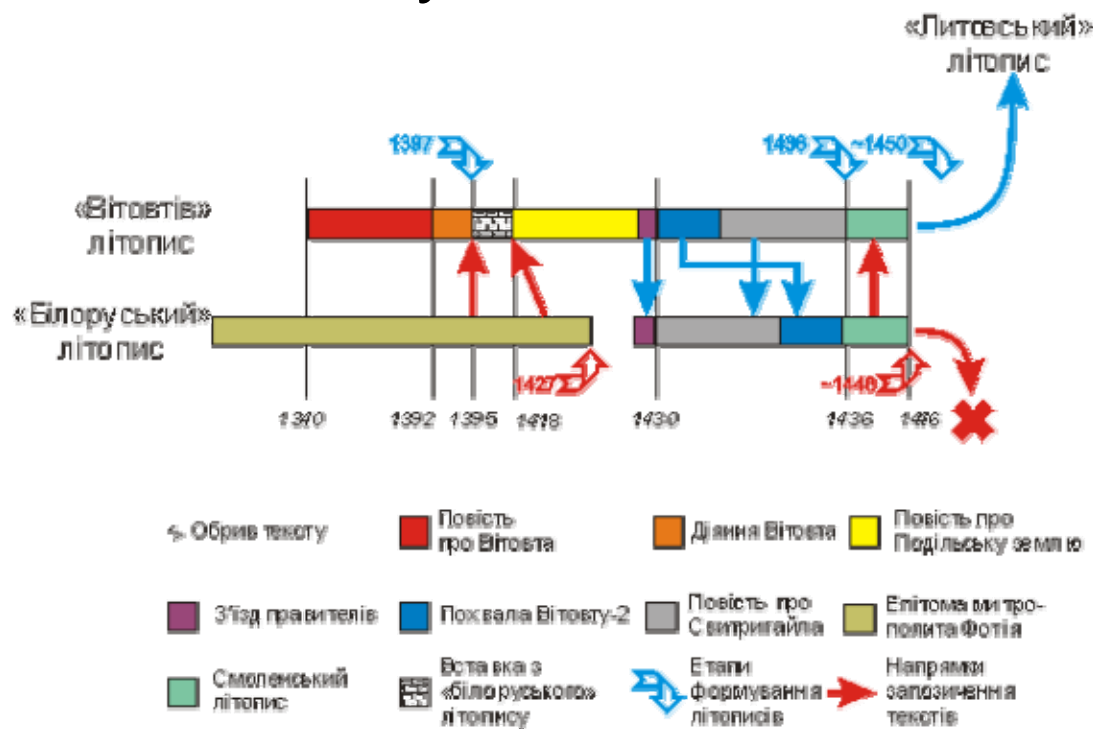


Nicholas Zharkikh

Two traditions chronicles Grand Duchy of Lithuania



Kiev, May 1 – November 12, 2016

Notes for the readers

This document contain shortened english version of my work. It can be freely downloaded from my personal site, from HTML version of work, by URL www.M-Zharkikh.name/en/History/Monographs/2Traditions.html

HTML version can be slightly modified and corrected.

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Introduction

Annals, compiled in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at the end of 14 – 16 centuries, in the obvious way are divided into two groups.

The first recounts the princes Palemon, Kunas and Montville, but does not know anything about princes Kyi, Askold, Oleg. This group I give **conditional** name "Lithuanian chronicles."

The second group talks about the Kyi, Sheck and Horeb, Askold with Dir, Oleg and Igor – return does not know anything about Palemon and his sons Bork, Kunas and Spera. This group I give **conditional** name "Belarusian chronicles."

The division into groups is objective, and names I have given them – conditional. However, they reflect the main trend of products in each group, stressing the leading role of Lithuanians and Ruthenians, respectively. In addition, the territory of existence of these chronicles was limited to the Lithuanian and Belarusian lands, including the eastern Belorussia (Smolensk), but did not extend to the land of modern Ukraine. I do not know, take root these names or not, but in this article, please remember these definitions.

The work will be considered the origin and development of these two chronicles traditions.

[The list of chronicles text](#)

[Impact on neighbors](#)

["Vytautas" chronicle](#)

[Conclusions](#)

["Belarusian" chronicle](#)

[Recommendations](#)

["Lithuanian" chronicle](#)

[Historiography](#)

[Compilation works](#)

[Abbreviations](#)

The list of chronicles text

Chronicles texts were printed twice in the series "The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles" (PSRL) in 1907, in the seventeenth volume edited by S. L. Ptashitsky and in 1975 (vol. 32), 1980 (vol. 35) years, edited by N. N. Ulashchik. Although some of their texts show a very close similarity, among the manuscripts there are no two, of which could be said that the second rewritten from the first. Moreover, the available manuscripts often represent collections of works of different origins, sometimes – even convolutes, common parts between which limited the overall binding.

Therefore, to study the collections of chronicle should be divided into logical parts, focusing on the content of the works. These parts we give a formal name (Bil1L – Belarus 1st chronicle, Vit1L – Vytautas 1st chronicle, Lit1L – Lithuanian 1st chronicle). The main reason for the introduction of formal titles is to separate manuscripts, and besides:

1, the names of the owners often misleading: Bychowiec's Chronicle was written not by Bychowiec, and Raczyński's chronicle – not by Raczyński;

2, the presence of several different annals with the same name (two Suprasl annals – and our Bil2L and Bil5L + Bil6L; two Uvarov chronicles, in particular, our Vit4L + Bil3L and Annals of the 72-language junior recension);

3, the similarity of the names of the chronicles, for example, "Chronicle great Duchy Lithuania and Zhomoit" (Lit7L) and "Lithuania and Zhmoit Chronicle" (Lit8L).

In each group, the chronicles are numbered sequentially – from early to later, focusing exclusively on the date of the manuscripts.

I consider it expedient to divide "Lithuanian" chronicles in turn into two groups: "Vytautas" chronicles begin statement on the death of Gediminas, while "self-Lithuanian" – from Palemon:

"Vytautas" chronicles

Abbr- eviation	Date	Publication and traditional name
Vit1L	1397 (the last year, there is no end) late 15 – early 16 c. (Paleography)	PSRL, 1907, vol. 17, col. 191 – 204 (Vilna copy) PSRL, 1980, vol. 35, p. 85 – 90 (Vilna chronicle).
Vit2L	1382 (the final year) late 15 – early 16 c. (copy)	<i>Prochaska A.</i> Przekład ruskiego latopisca ks. Litewskiego na język łaciński. – Kwartalnik historyczny, 1888, r. 2, № 2, s. 196 – 197. PSRL, 1907, vol. 17, col. 219 – 226 (Origo regis Jagyelo et Wytholdi ducum Lithuanie) PSRL, 1980, vol. 35, p. 115 – 117 (Origo regis Jagyelo et Wytholdi ducum Lithuanie) <i>Maroz B.</i> Latin translation «Origo regis» in the history of Belarussian annalistics. – Own words, in 2014, number 1, pp. 28 – 32 (Belarusian translation).
Vit3L	In 1446 (the final year) 1520 (date of copy)	Latoposiec litewski / I. Daniłowicz. – Dziennik Wileński, 1832, № 3; 1824, № 1 – 3; PSRL, 1907, vol. 17, col. 71 – 84 (Suprasl Chronicle, Part 2) PSRL, 1980, vol. 35, p. 61 – 67 (Suprasl chronicle , Part 2).
Vit4L	1445 (the final year) 1524 (filigree)	Annals of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania / A. N. Popov. – Scientists notes of the 2nd department of the Academy of Sciences, 1854, vol. 1, Div. 3, p. 27 – 58; PSRL, 1907, vol. 17, col. 85 – 109 (Uvarov copy A) PSRL, 1980, vol. 35, p. 68 – 78 (Slutsk (Uvarov) Chronicle , 1 part).
Vit5L	In 1392 (the last year, there is no end) 1534 (filigree)	PSRL, 1907, vol. 17, col. 125 – 152 (Academic copy) PSRL, 1980, vol. 35, p. 110 – 114 (Academic chronicle , Part 2)
Vit6L	1446 (the final year) 16 c. (Paleography)	Lithuanian chronicle by the copy in the library of Count Krasinski / A. F. Bychkov. – SPb.: 1893.; PSRL, 1907, vol. 17, col. 153 – 190 (Count Krasinski copy A) PSRL, 1980, vol. 35, p. 132 – 144 (Annals Krasinski , Part 2).
Vit7L	1526 (the latest date	Reduced Lithuanian chronicle / G. Bugoslavsky. –

	in the text) 1530-s (Date of collection of articles)	Smolensk antiquity, 1911, 1, no. 2, p. 5 – 16.
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"Lithuanian" chronicles

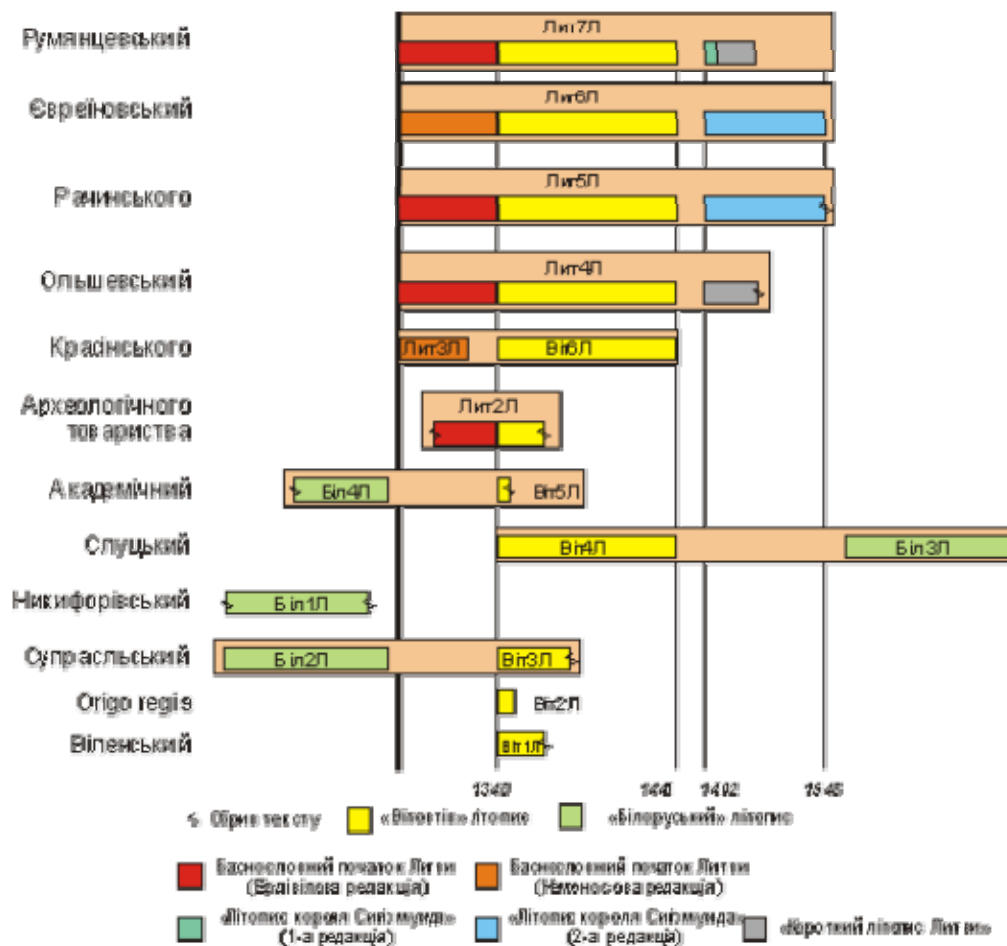
Abbr- eviation	Date	Publication and traditional name
Lit1L	1507 (the latest date, there is no end) 17 c. (copy)	Pomniki do dziejów litewskich / T. Narbutt. – Wilno: 1846; PSRL, 1907, vol. 17, col. 473 – 572 (Bychowiec's copy) PSRL, 1975, vol. 32, p. 128 – 173 (Bychowiec Chronicle)
Lit2L	1396 (the last year, there is no end) 16 c. (Paleography)	PSRL, 1907, vol. 17, col. 239 – 292 (copy of Archaeological Society; lost beginning and end of the copy is submitted by the Rumyantsev Museum copy) PSRL, 1980, vol. 35, p. 91 – 102 (Annals of the Archaeological Society).
Lit3L	16 c. (Paleography)	Lithuanian chronicle by the copy in the library of Count Krasinski / A. F. Bychkov. – SPb.: 1893.; PSRL, 1907, vol. 17, col. 227 – 238 (Count Krasinski copy B) PSRL, 1980, vol. 35, p. 128 – 132 (Annals Krasinski , 1 part).
Lit4L	1535 (the last year, there is no end) 1550 (date of copy)	PSRL, 1907, vol. 17, col. 421 – 472 (Olszewski copy) PSRL, 1980, vol. 35, p. 173 – 191 (Olszewski chronicle).
Lit5L	1548 (the last year, there is no end) 1582 (filigree) 1635, 1651 (other articles of the collection)	PSRL, 1907, vol. 17, col. 295 – 356 (Count Raczynski copy) PSRL, 1980, vol. 35, p. 145 – 172 (Annals of Raczynski).
Lit6L	1548 (the final year) 1690 (date of copy)	PSRL, 1907, vol. 17, col. 357 – 412 (Evreinov's copy) PSRL, 1980, vol. 35, p. 214 – 238 (Evreinov's chronicle).
Lit7L	In 1567 (the final year) Late 17 c. (Paleography)	Chronicle great Duchy Lithuania and Zhomoit / B. Vakhevich. – Notes of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities, 1902, vol. 24; PSRL, 1980, vol. 35, p. 193 – 213 (Rumiantsev's chronicle).
Lit8L	1588 (the final year) 17 c., 1740s (copies)	PSRL, 1975, vol. 32, p. 15 – 127 (Lithuania and Zhmoit Chronicle)

"Belarusian" chronicles

Abbr-	Date	Publication and traditional name
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eviation		
Bil1L	1435 (the last year, the end is lost) 1464 – 1491 (filigree) 15 c. (Paleography)	Russian chronicles / S. Belokurov. – Reading in the society of Russian History and Antiquities, 1898, vol. 4; PSRL, 1980, vol. 35, p. 19 – 35 (Nikiforov's chronicle).
Bil2L	1446 (the final year) 1520 (date of copy)	Latoposiec litewski / I. Daniłowicz. – Dziennik Wileński, 1832, № 3; 1824, № 1 – 3; PSRL, 1907, vol. 17, col. 1 – 70 (Suprasl Chronicle, Part 1) PSRL, 1980, vol. 35, p. 36 – 61 (Suprasl chronicle , 1st part).
Bil3L	1237 (the last year, the end is lost) 1524 (filigree)	PSRL, 1907, vol. 17, col. 109 – 124 (Uvarov copy B) PSRL, 1980, vol. 35, p. 78 – 84 (Slutsk (Uvarov) Chronicle , Part 2).
Bil4L	1446 (the final year) 1534 (filigree)	PSRL, 1980, vol. 35, p. 103 – 110 (Academic chronicle , 1 part)
Bil5L	1382 (the final year) 1540-ies (copy)	Codex Suprasliensis / M. A. Obolensky. – M.: 1836, p. 1 – 123 (abbreviated Novgorod Chronicle, from the beginning of the Slavic lands to the capture of Moscow by Tokhtamysh in 1382).
Bil6L	1544 (the final year) 1498 – 1516 (filigree) early 16 c. (paleography)	Codex Suprasliensis / M. A. Obolensky. – M.: 1836, p. 125 – 154 (A brief chronicle of Kiev from the beginning of the Russian land in 1516). PSRL, 1980, vol. 35, p. 118 – 127 (Volyn brief chronicle).

More clearly part of the annals of existing lists shown in the following diagram:



No matter how obvious this division – it has not introduced in any previous studies, which is dramatically reflected both on investigation and on the findings. Therefore, in the following sections will be many new, introduced for the first time.

"Vytautas" chronicle

"Vytautas" chronicle begins with the words: "The Duke Gediminas had 7 sons." It remained in the 13 copies. The following sections deals with structural parts and relation between copied. This material may not be interesting for all, and you can go directly to the conclusions of the study.

[Tale of Vytautas](#)

[Acts of Vytautas](#)

[Tale of Podillja land](#)

[Congress rulers and Praise of Vytautas](#)

[Tale of Švitrigaila](#)

[Borrowing from the "Belarusian" chronicle](#)

[Reconstruction of "Vytautas" chronicle](#)

[Moscow copy](#)

Conclusions

"Vytautas" chronicle formed in three stages.

On **first stage** was written "Tale of Vytautas" and "Acts of Vytautas", statement brought to 1397. This phase is represented by copies Vit1L and Vit2L.

On **second stage** was written "Tale of Podillja land," the story of the Congress rulers in 1430, "Praise of Vytautas" (2nd edition) and "Tale of Švitrigaila". In this composition the chronicle was preserved only partially (Vit3L).

On **third step** 33-year gap between the works of the first and second stages was partially filled with borrowings from the "Belarusian" chronicles; at the end was added shortened Smolensk Chronicle, brought to 1445. In this format we have Vit4L copy.

Next "Vytautas" chronicle had not been replenished, but only processed. Somewhere in the late 15th or early 16th century was written Vit6L with the third edition of "Praise Vytautas". This copy formed the basis of "Lithuanian" chronicles of the 1 half – mid. 16 c.

The sources value of more stories VitL is quite high; these novels are close in time to the events described and show the undoubted expertise of the author. The value story of the Congress rulers and "Praise of Vytautas" is medium. Value the beginning of "Tale of Podillja land" is low, because it was written by the recall.

Although the story of the first and second stages were written by different people, VitL maintains unity of style: it consists of separate stories, each of which focuses on a particular topic and is not distracted by other events that took place at the same time; there is completely no absolute dates; authors were indifferent or very wary attitude to religion; almost no trace of the use of written sources.

"Vytautas" chronicle was assigned for the first time in this work. Previous researchers have always mixed it with the "Belarusian" chronicle and therefore could not come to a convincing conclusion.

Tale of Vytautas

Group "Vytautas" chronicles has an expressive thing in common – they contain at the beginning of quite an extensive "Tale of Vytautas" (TOV). It begins with the words "The Duke Gediminas had 7 sons," and ends with the words, "And the whole Lithuanian and Russian land rejoice."

In total, we have 13 its copies (Vit1L – Vit7L, Lit1L – Lit2L, Lit4L – Lit7L). The total comparative table will look too bulky, so we first compare the copies of "Vytautas" chronicles, and then the copies of loan "Lithuania" chronicles.

In this and the following sections will be many comparative tables, boring and difficult to view. Therefore, you can first review the findings and then go to the extent of interest in the analysis, which leads from the source text to these conclusions.

[Memorial Vytautas](#)

[Versions text "Vytautas" chronicle](#)

[Analysis versions "Vytautas" chronicle](#)

[Versions text "Lithuania" chronicle](#)

[Analysis variants "Lithuanian" chronicle](#)

Conclusions

1. The oldest and best text "The Tale of Vytautas" (TOV-1) is contained in Vit1L. It requires only small additions to the damaged areas of the later copies and should be the main text TOV for use in historical research.

2. The original text TOV had been written in the Vilna shortly after Vytautas' rise to power in 1392, possibly at the end of 1392 – in 1393. "Memorial of Vytautas" that was written sometime earlier (late 1389), was used as source for TOV. Both works were written by one author.

3. The place of writing TOV-1 can quite confidently be considered Vilna.

4. The ideological orientation of a work – to prove dynastic rights of Vytautas to power in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. His rise to power is seen as achieving a certain ideal state of the Duchy.

5. The sources the value of the original text is quite high.

6. The characteristic stylistic features of the original text is a sequential narration of the events, the complete absence of absolute dates, lack of biblical quotations and references to God and religion at all.

7. Later, on the basis of TOV-1 was created a TOV-2, which was the basis of the remaining copies, in particular Vit3L. There are no traces of conscious text editing in TOV-2.

8. On the basis of Vit6L was created protograph TOV-3, which was written at the same time with the story "Fabulous emergence of Lithuania" (FEL) and by the same author. Changes in the text of the TOV-3 are made to align with the text FEL, so the time of writing this edition coincides with the time of writing FEL – 1 half 16 c., perhaps from 1519 to 1539.

9. Copy of TOV in Lit5L includes borrowing from some late (4 qtr. 15 c. or 1 half 16 c.) Moscow Chronicle. Derived from it Lit6L contains a story about the campaign of Algirdas against Moscow – with high literary value, but historically unreliable.

10. All later additions to the text of TOV-1 should be considered as corruption of the original text; these copies use should not be used in historical research.

11. The general direction of the evolution TOV in the late 14th – 16th c. – A gradual transition from the chronicle genre (with respect to the collection of accurate references to past events) to the historical genre (fun, exciting narrative of past events, regardless of the accuracy). The stages of this development can be represented as follows: VitL → early "Lithuanian" chronicles → Lit6L → Lit1L → Strykowski → Lit8L, Gustynsky chronicle.

12. "Tale of Vytautas" as a separate product highlighted in this paper for the first time. Previous researchers mistakenly isolated as separate works beginning TOV (up to Vytautas escape, episodes 1 – 55) and the end of TOV + AV. Therefore, they could not convincingly explain or purpose of writing these works, nor the time of their occurrence.

13. A further argument in favor of the TOV as a separate product is its copy in the Novgorod Chronicle Dubrovsky – published back in 1907, but it is not properly valued.

Memorial of Vytautas

In the case of "Tale of Vytautas" we caught a very rare case – we have diplomatic document, which was the prototype of the chronicle text.

Note, titled "Memorial" or "complaint Vytautas" (MemV), preserved in the copy book of contracts of the Teutonic Order. Now this book is kept in Berlin [Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz. The signature XX. HA, OF, Nr. 1b, L. 22b – 24b]. It was discovered by German scientist T. Hirsch and published in 1863 [Scriptores rerum Prussicarum. Bd. 2. Leipzig, 1863. S. 711 – 714].

This work, written in very difficult for us middle High German, has become more accessible thanks to the new translation of the Belarusian by Aleh Litskevich [*Litskevich A. V. "Memorial of Vytautas" – first Chronicle GDL. – Belaruskaya Dumka, 2009, № 2, p. 92 – 96*].

While still Stanislaw Smolka [*Smolka S. [Najdawniejsze pomniki dziejopisarstwa rusko-litewskiego](#). – Pamiętnik Akademii umiejętności, 1889, t. 8, s. 44 – 49*] examined it and pointed to the proximity to the TOV, this work did not have luck in the historiography chronicles of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, therefore, I think it will not hurt to consider the text again.

[Here omitted comparative table – 61 rows, and following analysis is given in briefing. Completely – in Ukrainian].

The comparison shows that MemV text is much shorter (36 episodes, which were not in MemV – appear in TOV) and more focused on the main theme – offenses that suffered Vytautas from Jagiello. It is perhaps appropriate for the memorial goal – to explain the management of the Teutonic Order, why Vytautas raises war against Lithuania.

"Memorial" was written before "Tale of Vytautas". It served as source for the "Tale". Time the "Memorial" creation can be defined as the end of 1389 – 1 half of 1390, and more probable – the end of 1389, closer to the time of arrival Vytautas in Marienburg and meeting with its master, during which MemV was used.

It is the creation of the "Memorial" is a decisive argument in favor of his primacy in relation to the "Tale".

Versions text "Vytautas" chronicle

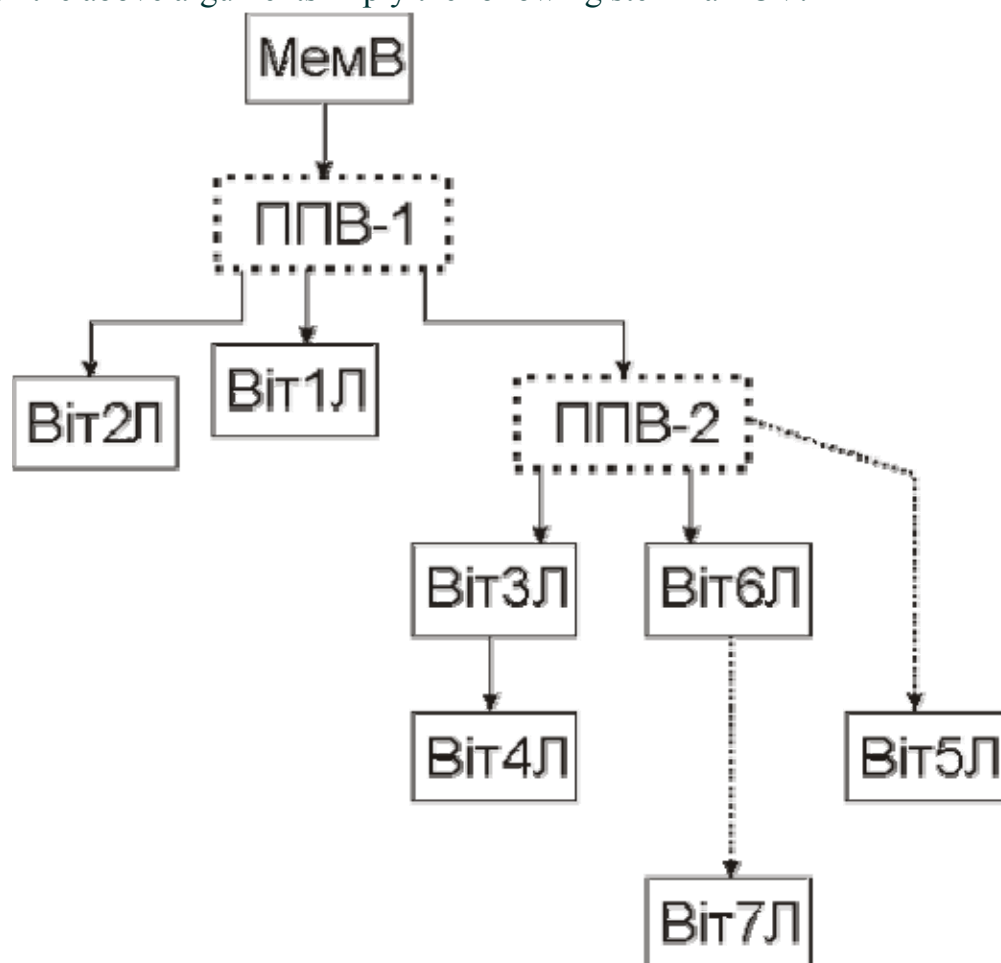
Since we have quite a lot copies of "Tale of Vytautas" (TOV), we divide the comparative table in two parts. In the first compare copies of "Vytautas" chronicles, and the second – the copies of "Lithuania" chronicles.

The table contains 90 rows, 7 copies are compared.

Analysis versions "Vytautas" chronicle

Dependence of copies

Of all the above arguments imply the following stemma TOV:



Stemma "Tale of Vytautas" on the copied of "Vytautas" chronicle

Sources

The purpose of writing a tale

Evaluation of the source values

Now we can answer the question "[Profile historical source](#)»:

1. When the text was written? – Shortly after Vytautas rise in power in 1392, possibly at the end of 1392 – 1393.
2. Which historical period covers the text? – The last 50 – 52 years before the writing, in 1341 – 1392.
3. Where the text written? – In Vilna as the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

4. Which geographical area covers the text? – The territory of modern Lithuania and partially – Belarus (from Smolensk).

5. What are the sources used in the preparation of the text? – Used "Memorial of Vytautas", occasionally used a literary prototype.

6. As far as the author was competent in matters about which he wrote? – Competent enough.

7. What was the purpose of writing the text? – Justification the rights of Vytautas for Great Duchy of Lithuania.

8. What are the methods of the sources processing used by the author to achieve his goal? – Positive coverage Vytautas actions.

9. What are the structural parts the text is consist? – No structural parts, the story is monolite and written in one step.

From these responses should be our common high score "Tale of Vytautas" as an important historical source; and from this we derive the following **practical recommendations**: to use for historical research Vit1L text only, complementing it in accordance with our observations of the gaps. The texts of the later copies systematically deteriorate, and should not be used.

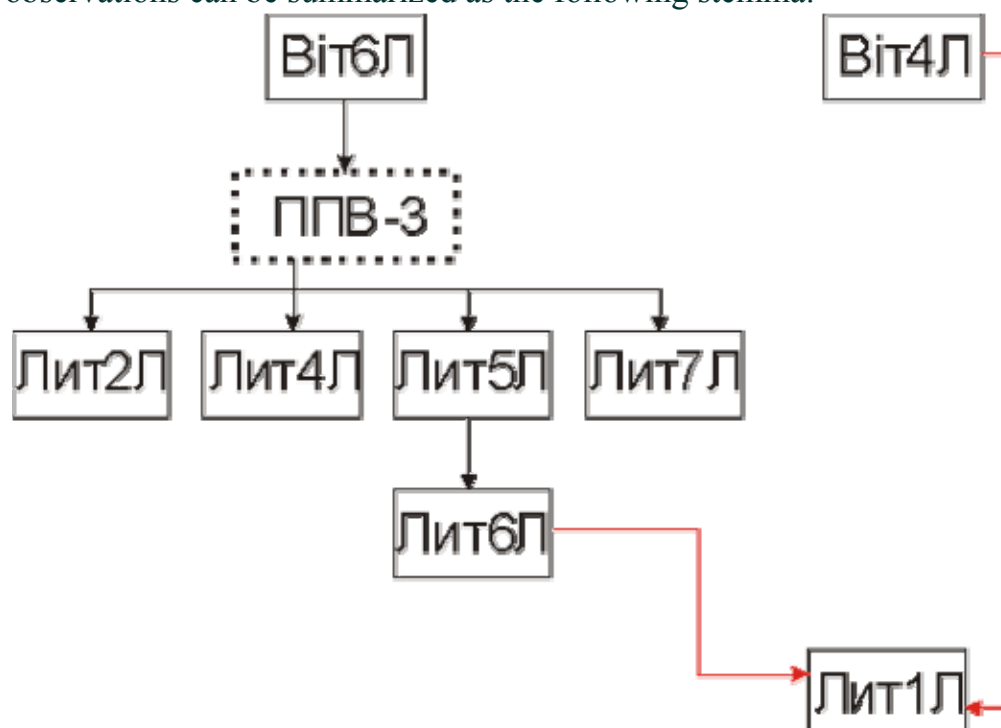
Versions text "Lithuania" chronicle

Let us now see how looks "Tale of Vytautas" in the copies of "Lithuania" chronicle. Table contains rows, 6 copies are compared.

Analysis variants "Lithuanian" chronicle

Dependence of copies

Our observations can be summarized as the following stemma:



Stemma "Tale of Vytautas" on the copies of "Lithuania" chronicle

Sources
Evaluation

The main text TOV is undergoing in the "Lithuanian" chronicles distortion; additions are of negligible source value, all of the specific facts taken from known sources, and all that exceeds the borrowing should be considered as fictions.

Thus, it remains in force our recommendation – use in historical research Vit1L text.

Please be aware that there is a copy of TOV in the later Novgorod Chronicle Dubrovsky (1539) [PSRL, 2004, Vol. 43, p. 265 – 269]. But we shall defer its consideration to the section "[Impact on neighbors](#)".

Acts of Vytautas

Was "Tale of Vytautas" exist as a separate product, more precisely, as a separate manuscript notebook? In all copies, which kept the final phrase of the TOV ("land rejoice"), it is not separated from the following text, and only in the Novgorod Chronicle Dubrovsky (see [below](#)), we have a copy of its own.

In the vast majority of the copies after the TOV, we have a continuation of the story acts of Vytautas (AV) already recognized as the Grand Duke of Lithuania. I see no reason to doubt that the text was written by the author of the TOV as a continuation of the story.

[Variants text "Vytautas" chronicle](#)

[Variants text "Lithuanian" chronicle](#)

[Analysis variants](#)

Conclusions

1. The oldest and best text "Acts" can be obtained by combining text Vit1L and Vit3L. It should use in historical studies. In later copies these texts quickly and significantly deteriorate.

2. The preserved texts of "Acts" have only one edition, but it is possible to think that it is not original (it is possible to assume inclusion about death Skirgaila and one fragment transferred to the "Tale of Podillja land").

3. "Acts" should be evaluated highly in respect its source value. No traces of the use of written sources are visible, "Acts" were written almost simultaneously with the events, and almost certainly – by the same author that wrote TOV (who certainly was not small in the year of death Skirgaila!). The level of competence of the author – the same as with TOV, high enough. That is, these records can be considered as the primary source.

4. In the manuscript tradition AV constitute an indispensable addition to the TOV. Therefore, we can assume that it could be a separate manuscript consist of TOV + AV.

5. In ideological terms "Acts" follow in the direction specified by TOV: they glorify Vytautas as a diligent and successful ruler. Termination of "Acts" at the events of 1397, I guess – a consequence of writer's death, which replacement could not be found.

6. The place of writing a work should be considered as Vilna.

7. The previous researchers joined AV to the previous or the following text, so it was not determined the time of writing the work and did not properly marked its value.

Variants text "Vytautas" chronicle

Table contains 48 rows, 5 copies are compared.

Variants text "Lithuanian" chronicle

Table 48 contains rows, 6 copies are compared.

Analysis variants

Dependence of copies

Reconstruction of the text

In my opinion, we do not have the authoritative text of the original "Acts". Already in the nearest protograph Vit1L we have the mistaken spelling *Nedokudovo* instead of the correct *Dokudovo* (3).

Moreover, this text contains explicitly insertion – a story about the death of Skirgaila (27 – 36).

Tale of Podillja land

"Tale of Podillja land" (TPL) – is "another story" in the full sense of the expression, which has its own extensive chronology, its inclusion on the basis of the chronological order of presentation is not an easy task.

[Comparison of versions of the text](#)

[Analysis variants](#)

[Dlugosz about Podillja case](#)

Conclusions

1. The story covers the events from the mid-14th century until 1430, for the period 1394 – 1430 it is reliable and valuable source; early time (Algirdas' rule) – typical fabulous history, these messages should be treated with caution.

2. The best text is Vit4L, but it requires some amendments of Vit3L and Vit6L. Vit6L in general is processing the original story, which continues in the "Lithuanian" chronicles. The quality of the text is systematically getting worse. Only the original text can be valuable source for historical research.

3. The piece is written in Vilna in the 1430s (possibly in 1431) in order to justify the historical rights of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the possession of the Podillja, which was captured by the Poles.

4. The characteristic stylistic features of the original text is a sequence of connected narrative of the events, the complete absence of absolute dates – the same features as in the early chapters of "Vytautas" chronicle, although the story is written no doubt by another person. Perhaps its author was the author of the insertion of the death of Skirgaila in "Acts", which was "a little" in the late 14th century.

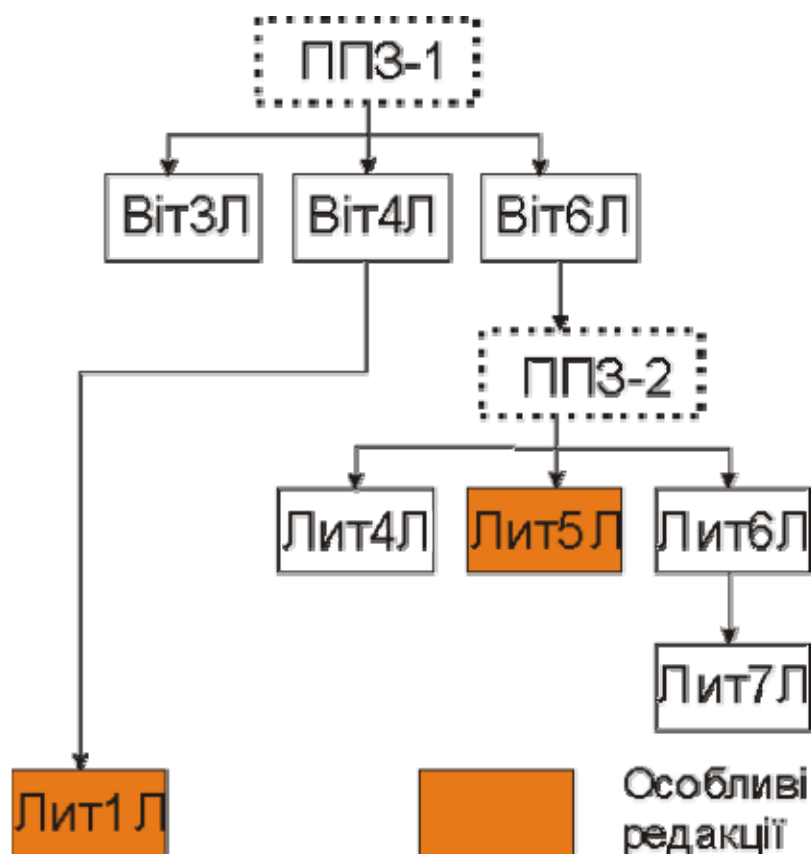
Comparison of versions of the text

Table contains 64 rows, 8 copies are compared.

Analysis variants

Dependence of copies

Of all the above arguments imply the following stemma TPL:



Stemma "Tale of Podillja land"

Place the story in the annals

Editions of the tale

The purpose of the product

Evaluation of the source value

Now we can answer the questions "[Profile historical source](#)»:

1. When the text written? – Shortly after the death of Vytautas, in the 1430s; perhaps even in 1431 (does not reflect any events subsequent armed struggle for Podillja).
2. Which historical period covers the text? – The last 90 years before writing, 1341 – 1430.
3. Where the text written? – At the Wilno as the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.
4. Which geographical area covers the text? – The territory of Podillja, partially – present-day Belarus.
5. What are the sources used in the preparation of the text? – I can not see the traces of written sources; it can be assumed that the description of the campaign Vytautas (29 – 39) is withdrawn from the "Acts of Vytautas" and moved here.
6. As far as the author was competent in matters about which he wrote? – Undoubted competence of the author in the event since occupation of Podillja by Vytautas (1394). The introductory part, which covers the time of Algirdas, built on the recollection and conjecture.
7. What was the purpose of writing the text? – Justification of the rights Grand Duchy of Lithuania on the Podillja.

8. What are the sources of the processing methods used the author to achieve his goal? – Emphasizing the independence of the Lithuanian princes actions during the occupation of Podillja (lack of outside help, in particular, Polish).

9. What are the structural parts of the text is? – No structural parts, the story is monolite and written in one step.

From these responses should be our general dual assessment "Tale of Podillja land" as an important historical source for the events late 14th – first third of the 15th century, and a fabulous story about ancient events. This conclusion follows **practical recommendations**: for historical research should be used Vit4L text only, complementing the best readings of Vit3L and Vit6L. The texts of the later copies systematically deteriorate, and one should not use them.

Dlugosz about Podillja case

According to J. Dlugosz, Podillja case several times occurred in clarifying relations between Poland and Lithuania.

Set out records for 1446 – 1464 years.

Conclusions

Although Dlugosz Chronicle continues for more than 15 years, there is no more mention about the case of Podillja. Conclusions can be made as follows:

1. The Grand Duke Sigismund, renouncing Podillja in 1432, probably did not know the "Tale of Podillja land" (in my opinion, it wrote a supporter Švitrigaila that left Vilno with all his works and continued to work somewhere in Belarus). In addition, Sigismund, who had just come to power (the document is exposed in 1.5 months after the coup), was forced to make concessions in order to retain the support of the Poles, which was very important to him.

2. During negotiations in 1446 – 1464 the Poles were based on written contracts and certificates of the grand dukes, and the Lithuanians did not bring any written documents. We cannot see any trace of a written memorandum on Podillja case from the Lithuanian side.

3. Moreover, the Lithuanians **knew nothing** on the Podillja in times Algirdas and Koriatovichs, even on a march Vytautas 1394. They knew about belonging Podillja to Lithuania started from the Vytautas time, that is from 1410 or 1411.

4. Poles, highlighting the history of Vytautas, also did not mention anything about Algirdas, or Koriatovichs, or campaign in 1394. Instead, they came up with the fable that King Casimir the third retake Podillja from Tatars, and he also supposedly founded the castles whose foundation "Tale of Podillja land" attributes Koriatovichs.

This fable was poorly justified, they could name only Spytko as first Polish elder on the Podillja (from 1395; and who ruled in Podillja previous – at least 25 years, 1370 – 1395?).

That is, in general, historical arguments did not reach deeper than late 14th cent. on both sides.

5. Poles in this dispute have accepted and endured delay tactics in the forms of leaving things to the next meeting, transfer it to the court of the king, or some committee, the nomination of counter-claims and counter-embassies. Poles did not pay any attention on Lithuanian threat of war, and were entirely right. Firstly, they did not believe in the seriousness of the war without a commander in chief who has to be the Grand Duke;

second, the Lithuanians did not have on the territory of modern Ukraine any significant armed forces, and the Poles on the Podillja have certain forces.

Since the case delay in 18 years left the Podillja in Poland.

Congress rulers and Praise of Vytautas

After a march to Ryazan (1397) chronicles "Lithuanian" group does not serve **no information** until the end of Vytautas reign in 1430. This lacuna in some copies filled with information from the annals of the "Belarusian" group, about which we have more [discussed below](#).

This break in the description of Vytautas rule, I think, can not be explained except by the death of the first writer in 1397 and the fact that one managed to find a successor only in 1430 (and possibly after the death of Vytautas).

As a short story about the congress rulers (SCR) is closely related in the annals with "Praise of Vytautas" (PV), we will consider these items together.

[The first edition of Praise](#)

[Variants of the text second edition](#)

[Variants of the text third edition](#)

[Analysis variants](#)

[Dlugosz about the congresses in 1429 and 1430](#)

[Sources value of messaging congress in 1430](#)

[Structure and value of Praise](#)

Conclusions

1. Literary history "Praise of Vytautas" begins with a short recording (PV-1), which preserved to us in the copy of "Words of Isaac Nineveh" rewritten in Smolensk in 1428.

2. A bit later, probably in 1430 in Vilna, was composed story story about the congress rulers and the expanded edition of "Praise" (PV-2). These works were included in the "Vytautas" chronicle and from it were taken in the "Belarusian" chronicle.

3. The purpose of the edition PV-2 – the glorification of the Vytautas power, for which the author resorted to hyperbole, do not care about history, or the political realities, and the recording of the "subjects Vytautas" all the lands that he only knew.

4. Much later (in the late 15th cent.?) the story of the congress rulers and PV-2 have been combined in order to create a story about the last years of the Vytautas reign (PV-3), which with a minor processing (PV-4) became a part of "Lithuanian" chronicle.

5. It follows from all the foregoing that the PV-3 is not a historical source (only historiographical, material for the illumination of historical thought); source value of SCR and PV-2 is small, despite the fact that both works were written by a contemporary (perhaps even a party) of events. They are more interested in the department of public opinion and fiction than in the department of historical facts. One way or another, one should use the text of Vit4L (with the completion of gaps in episode 64 from Bil2L and Bil4L).

The first edition of Praise

The first edition of "Praise of Vytautas" comes not from the chronicle, but from manuscripts collection of words [Isaac of Nineveh](#) (Syria, abbreviated WIN), which was

rewritten in 1428. It contained in a lengthy postscript, the initial post talks about Timothy rewriting the book on the orders of Vladimir Bishop Gerasim. The work was conducted in Constantinople [monasteries Pammakaristos](#) from 25 May until 22 June 6928 [1420]. Next item is PV, and next is the beginning of the record 14 August 6936 [1428] about copying the book in Smolensk on the orders of the same Gerasim – already bishop of Smolensk.

The primacy of the text in relation to chronicle edition shown in the following comparative table.

The table contains 25 rows, 2 copies are compared.

Variants of the text second edition

Table contains 90 rows, 5 copies are compared.

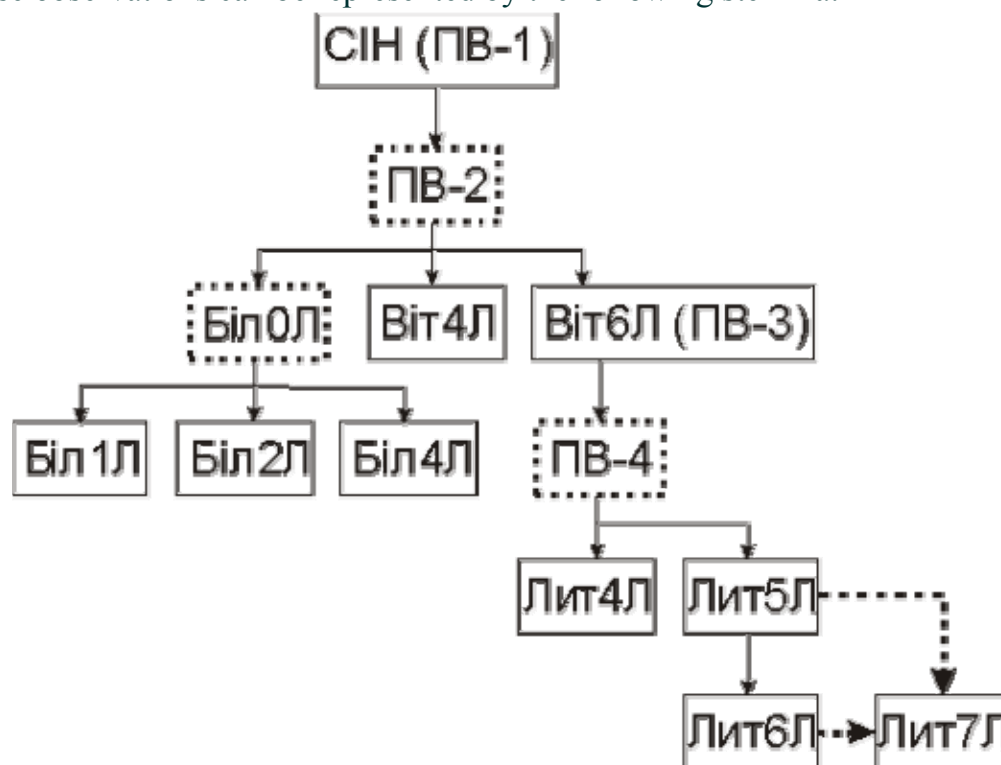
Variants of the text third edition

Table contains 90 rows, 5 copies are compared.

Analysis variants

Dependence of copies

These observations can be represented by the following stemma:



Stemma "Praise of Vytautas"

Sources and direction of editing

So, the edition PV-2 can be used as a source, but the PV-3 – is historiographical confusion in its pure form, one should not use it as a source.

Dlugosz about the congresses in 1429 and 1430

It may seem incredible, but the PV-3 errors passed to the "scientific historiography." Mixing the two congresses and inappropriate composition of the participants can be seen in the Wikipedia article: [Ukrainian](#), [Russian](#), [Polish](#), [Lithuanian](#), [English](#) and [German](#) – in all language versions, where there is such an article (tested in August 2016). All this is reminiscent of the astronomical system of Ptolemy before Copernicus performance!

The only correct interpretation was given by E. V. Rusina [[Lutsk Congress monarchs 1429](#) – Encyclopedia of History of Ukraine, K., 2009, T. 6]. Briefly, but also quite rightly wrote A. Gritskevich [Vytautas. – Great Duchy of Lithuania: encyclopedia. – Minsk, 2007, vol. 1, p. 448; there is no separate article on Lutsk Congress in this encyclopedia], but these correct views are not yet received widespread.

In connection with the general blindness, I think it appropriate to summarize the case of these congresses after most comprehensive and competent source – Chronicle of Jan Długosz [Jana Długosza Roczniki czyli kroniki sławnego królestwa Polskiego. – Warszawa: 2009, ks. 11, 1413 – 1430, s. 253 – 254, 260 – 269, 301 – 307, 311 – 315].

Outlines Długosz posts for 1429 – 1430 years.

Sources value of messaging congress in 1430

We have seen that even extract Długosz became a great article.

So Długosz described the two congress of rulers. The first was held in Lutsk in late January – February 1429, the second – in Vilnius in August – the beginning of October 1430. Between them – in the span of one and half a year.

Now we can finally understand what is written in the SCR. In episodes 2 – 28 we have a description of the Vilnius coronation congress with the date 6939 [The events of September – December 6939 in **September** year correspond September – December 1430 in January year].

About Lutsk Congress 1429 in the PV-2 is told later (35 – 41). Długosz confirms the data presented there, Sigismund was with the queen (40) and large gifts (41). But about participation Jagiello in the congress or specific policy implications PV-2 says nothing.

And what about these congress inform Great-Russian chronicles? Research has shown that they do not have no clue to Lutsk congress 1429; as to the coverage of events in Lithuania in 1430, divided into the following six groups.

The first group ("Novgorod") is the earliest and provides very scanty information.

The second group ("Sophia") delivers the following entry:

The third group ("Moscow") gives another information:

The fourth group ("Tver") presented alone, the annals of Tver [PSRL, 1863, vol. 15, col. 489]:

The fifth group ("Nikon") represented by the Nikon Chronicle (1520) [PSRL, 1901, Vol. 12, p. 9]:

Finally, the last, **the sixth group** chronicles generally passes these events.

Thus, both types of records from the Great-Russian annals does not show great awareness of their authors in the events and can only be secondary sources of Vilna congress 1430.

Structure and value of Praise

The development of political thought in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (actually, panegirism) illustrates the following table lists the rulers (20 lines, 3 texts).

The internal structure of the PV-2 rather varied. In my opinion, "Praise" consists of the following components:

1. Introduction (29 – 34).
2. Relations with the Roman emperor, Lutsk congress (35 – 41).

3. The list of lands and rulers, that **salute** (i. e. are equal!) Vytautas (42 – 50).
4. A list of lands and rulers, that **served** Vytautas (51 – 64). The list contain also the Grand Duke of Moscow (remember the PV-1!), but at the last moment it was decided to raise him to the rank to "friend." It was neglected to move him above, in the friends list.
5. Vytautas – a formidable ruler (65 – 68). A fragment of this description used above (50), in connection with the Jagiello.
6. Ending (69), cut short on the half-word (see the full text of it in the PV-1).
7. Start the story about the visit of Vytautas in Kyiv and the appointment of the Tartar king (70 – 72).
8. Plug the story of the 3 kings Tatar (73 – 86), with its own ending "back to its original" (85).
9. The end of the story about the visit of Vytautas in Kyiv and the appointment of the Tatar king (87 – 89).
10. The ending (90).

Tale of Švitrigaila

Immediately after "Praise of Vytautas" in Vit4L places "Tale of Švitrigaila", did not separated, however, with heading (there are no headings in Vit4L at all).

[Structure of the story](#)

[Versions "Vytautas" and "Lithuanian" chronicles](#)

[Versions "Belarusian" chronicles](#)

[Analysis versions](#)

Conclusions

1. "Tale of Švitrigaila" as a standalone product is selected by us for the first time, previous researchers have not isolated it and did not pay attention to variant reading in copies.
2. It is safe to assert that the "Tale" was written by the same author who wrote "Tale of Podillja land" and "Praise of Vytautas" (2nd edition), that is, the person close to the ruling circles of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.
3. Its original edition preserved in Vit4L list, from which it was borrowed in the "Belarusian" chronicles (there it was unsuccessfully moved).
4. Written "Tale" after the fight, in 1436 or soon afterwards, during the lifetime of Prince Sigismund Keistutaitis. During the war, the author of the tale stayed among Švitrigaila supporters in the northern part of Belarus (Polotsk, Vitebsk). There is no reason to link it with the writing of Smolensk.
5. The sources the value of the product is high enough; one should use Vit4L copy for research.

Structure of the tale

List of 16 episodes.

Versions "Vytautas" and "Lithuanian" chronicles

In the following table comparing the versions "Tale of Švitrigaila" in the copies "Vytautas" and "Lithuanian" chronicles (26 rows and 7 copies).

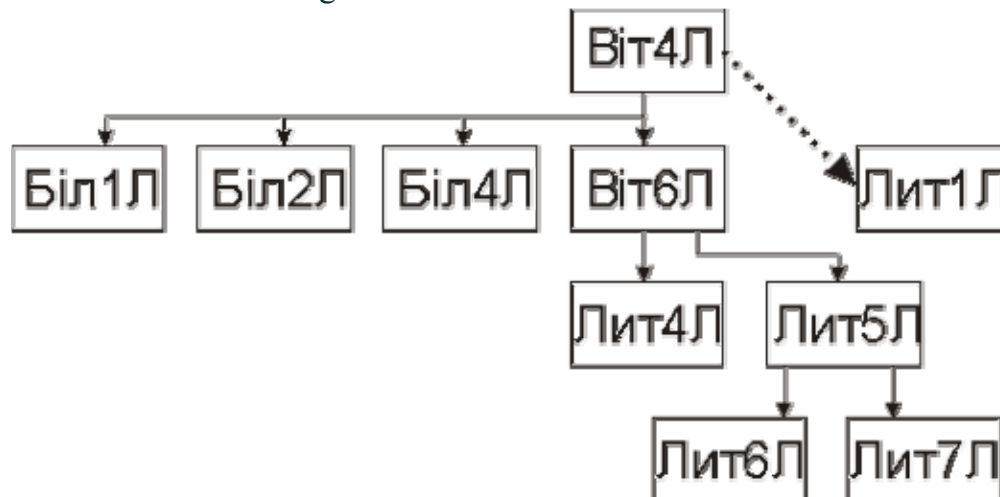
Versions "Belarusian" chronicles

The table contains the versions "Tale of Švitrigaila" in the copies of the "Belarusian" chronicles compared with Vit4L (25 rows, 4 copies).

It is obvious that all the copies of the "Belarusian" chronicles (and therefore Bil0L) are very similar in this part to Vit4L.

Analysis versions

The stemma "Tale of Švitrigaila" can be described as:



Stemma copies of "Tale of Švitrigaila"

This stemma, in my opinion, explains most of the links between the copies.

Borrowing from the "Belarusian" chronicle

After the "Tale of Švitrigaila" in "Vytautas" chronicles placed a shortened version of the Smolensk chronicles, which borrowed from the "Belarusian" tradition. Details about this – in [a separate section](#). It shows that more detailed borrowings were made in Vit4L and reduced – in Vit6L and subsequent "Lithuanian" chronicles.

At the same time (in the middle of the 15th century, after 1446), during the final arrangement of Vit4L, chronological gap between the end of "Acts of Vytautas" in 1397 and the Congress rulers in 1430 was filled with extracts from the annals of the "Belarusian" tradition.

It is easy to notice that the source of records Vit4L + Vit6L – this is our good friend Bil0L (Table 16 rows).

It is easy to see that all records Vit4L and Vit6L are complete borrowings or shortenings of Bil0L, including such exotic as the episodes 13 – 14, which are not found in any other chronicle (more – in the section "[Annals of Metropolitan Photius](#)").

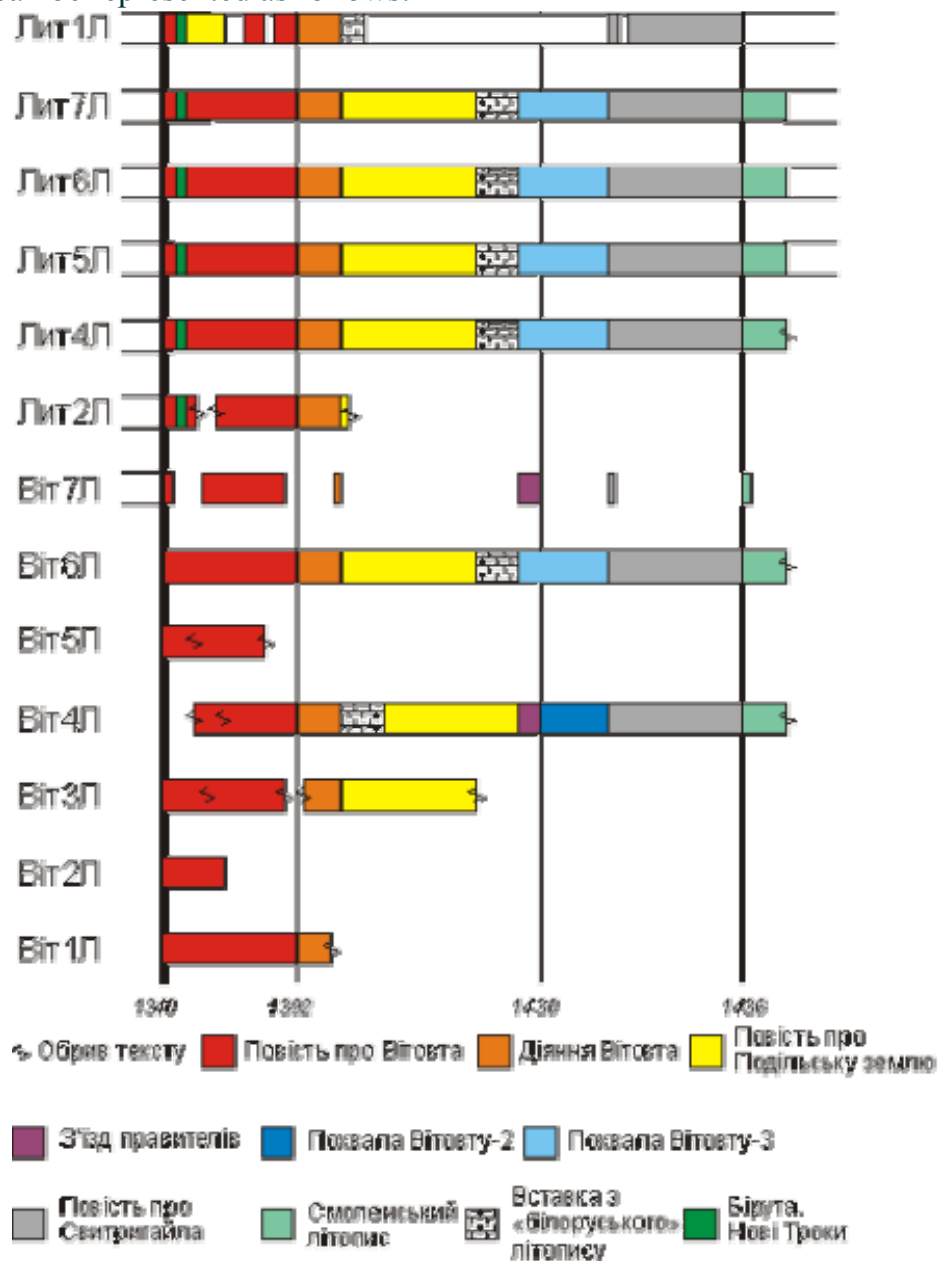
In terms of content, these extracts from Bil0L very homogeneous – all of them are centered around the person of Vytautas. Author Vit4L without did not have his own material to fill said gap, took advantage of the fact that he had found in Bil0L. One record (15) regard to Švitrigaila, who's early biography was also unknown to the author.

Comparing copies

In the following table comparing the borrowings from the annals of the "Belarusian" tradition, placed in the "Vytautas" chronicle (18 rows and 7 copies).

Reconstruction of "Vytautas" chronicle

We see that "Vytautas" chronicle preserved in 13 copies: the seven relatively autonomous (Vit1L – Vit7L), five in the "Lithuanian" chronicles (Lit2L, Lit4L – Lit7L) and in rearranged form as part of Lit1L. The remaining parts of this hypothetical chronicle can be represented as follows:



Composition "Vytautas" chronicle in different copies

I assumed this chronicle formed in three stages.

On **first stage** there was written "Tale of Vytautas" (1392) and its direct sequel – "Acts of Vytautas" (1392 – 1397). Presumably, the work was cut short due to the death of chronicler.

On **second stage**, separated from his first big break 1398 – 1429, there was written "Tale of Podillja land", the story of the congress in 1430, "Praise of Vytautas" and "Tale of Švitrigaila". One had started the writing of these works after the death of Vytautas, in 1430-ies.

On **third stage** (after 1446, possibly in 1450) a chronological break was partially filled with information taken from Bil0L, and at the end added the reduction of Smolensk chronicle, also from Bil0L.

After that came a new break in the chronicles – up to the end of the 15th century.

"Vytautas" chronicle had been written at the court of the Grand Duke, almost certainly – in Vilnius. Both parts of it, even though they were written by different people, characterized by unity of style:

- 1, a coherent narrative, focusing on one line of events, without the distraction of other events that took place at the same time;
- 2, the complete absence of references to the years (a few years notation I think the result of editing processing in later copies);
- 3, the pragmatism of the story, the almost complete absence of religious painting;
- 4, grouping events around the person of Vytautas (later – Švitrigaila).

Inserts from Bil0L sharply distinguished by the presence of the grid per annum articles, but chosen from Bil0L only what concerns Vytautas.

At the end of 15 – 1 half 16 cent. "Vytautas" chronicle became the basis for the "Lithuanian" chronicles – it was annexed by the fabulous initial part and the description of events since 4 qtr. 15 cent. At this time the insert at the beginning of TOV was made, concerning acts of Keistut – marrying Biruta and founding New Troki.

Moscow copy

Having determined the history of the formation "Vytautas" chronicle, we can determine confident enough the origin of its highly processed Moscow copy (Vit7L).

Thus, based on Vit4L, author Vit7L spent considerable work for finding additional sources and their adaptation to his purpose. The goal for preparing this chronicle was explanation of the origin of Prince Mstislavsky.

"Belarusian" chronicle

Annals "of the Belarusian" tradition begins the history of the Vikings call. While "Vytautas" chronicles minimally used written sources, and for them it was necessary to determine the degree of reliability, there is the opposite of our task. Because of their apparent dependence on Great-Russian chronicle of 14 – 15 centuries the following sections provide a detailed comparison of the text to clarify the sources of "Belarus" chronicles. This work is very troublesome and perhaps of little interest to those who is not a specialist.

Therefore, you can read the final section at once, which contains findings of the study, and then at least curious to see how these conclusions are justified.

[Annals of special composition](#)

[Comparing copies](#)

[Legend of the Russian princes](#)

[Tale of Batu's attack](#)

[Tale of Neva battle](#)

[Lapidary chronicle of late 13 – early 14 cent.](#)

[Table of news 1310 – 1427 years](#)

[Analysis of news 1310 – 1427 years](#)

[Battle on the Vorskla river in 1399](#)

[Unique data 1310 – 1410 years](#)

[Chronicle Metropolitan Photius](#)

[Versions text Smolensk chronicle](#)

[Analysis Smolensk chronicle](#)

[Reconstruction of the "Belarusian" chronicle](#)

Conclusions

1. All four preserved copies of "Belarusian" chronicles derived from the same protograph (Bil0L). All of them are abbreviated and corrupted copies of protograph. The best is a Bil1L copy, its gaps can be filled from other copies. It should be remembered that the most comprehensive Bil2L copy contains the largest number of bad spelling.

2. At the beginning of Bil0L (up to 1427 inclusive) placed] "Epitome of Metropolitan Photius" – abbreviated chronicle, composed by the author from Moscow Metropolitan Photios environment. For its preparation have been used, "Legend of the Russian princes" (short), Novgorod Karamzin Chronicle (up to 1309), Simeon and Rogozhsky chronicles (for period of 1310 – 1385), Sophia 1st Chronicle older recension (1385 – 1418).

3. "Epitome" in the literature are often, but it is mistakenly called "all-Russian" or even "West Russian" chronicle. It drastically reduced Novgorod news abundantly represented in all the source annals, and focuses on the Moscow principality.

4. Starting with the 1410 to the borrowed records are added unique records, in terms of 1419 – 1427 they form the entire contents. These unique records should be considered as "Chronicle of Metropolitan Photius."

5. "Epitome of Metropolitan Photius" leave no trace in the future Moscow chronicles; once in Smolensk, it became the basis for the further work of the chronicle, which consisted in borrowing parts "Vytautas" chronicles (story about the congress rulers, Praise of Vytautas, Tale of Švitrigaila).

6. The last part is the original Smolensk chronicle 1432 – 1446 period.

7. Content "Vytautas" chronicles were replenished with abbreviated excerpts from the "Epitome" (events 1395 – 1418) and of the Smolensk chronicle (1438 – 1445).

8. With a high probability Bil0L was formed in Smolensk in the middle of the 15th century. But there is no reason to link it to any specific individuals or even media.

9. Previous researchers (Shakhmatov, Priselkov) did not isolated "Epitome" as a separate product and could not fully reveal the sources (not specified Novgorod Karamzin and Rogozhsky chronicles), and therefore wrongly imagined its origin.

10. In the 16th century in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was written at least another 2 chronicles, based on the Great-Russian chronicles (Bil5L, Bil6L). They are not connected with each other and Bil0L and therefore do not constitute a separate tradition.

Annals of special composition

Bil5L – chronicle of late origin: there are titles "The reign of such prince." I think that this chronicle was written not earlier than 1 half 16 cent., most likely – in the 1540s.

Bil6L have at the beginning fairly clear indication of chronology – genealogy in the Moscow princes. It is based on some kind of Moscow chronicle of edge 15 – 16 centuries. This chronicle was formed during the 1st half of the 16th c., and is relatively late.

Comparing copies

Composition Bil1L – Bil4L shows significant similarities, which we will show in the following table. Since the beginning of Bil4L to article 6846 (1338) was lost, we start our table of three columns, and then move on four.

Table contain 97 rows, compares 3 – 4 copies.

The conclusion from these calculations is simple: Bil1L and Bil2L undoubtedly rewritten **one protograph** (though I do not like to "discover protograph", but here is quite obvious, so we denote it Bil0L). Thus Bil1L generally contains the best, qualitative reading while Bil2L rewritten carelessly, often without understanding the meaning of the text.

It can be argued that all four copies – Bil1L – Bil4L – come from the same protograph (Bil0L), which can be roughly reconstructed, adding what is missing in a single copy from the other copies, and choosing the best, logical spellings.

Legend of the Russian princes

Legend of the true saints Russian princes (LRP) – introductory article in Bil2L, and the second half of it preserved in Bil1L. This article is an abbreviation of the article "These Russian princes" in the Commission copy of Novgorod 1st chronicle younger recension (mid. 15 cent.) [[Novgorod first chronicle](#) senior and junior recensions. – Moscow-Leningrad, 1950, p. 467 – 469] and Avraamka's collection, which was formed

during the 1470 – 1495 [PSRL, vol. 16, col. 309 – 312]. We will refer to this edition of the LRP-1, and the editors Bil2L – LRP-2.

Comparison of these texts is as follows (table 33 rows):

Cutted on the twenty-first episode LRP-2 has completely lost its original meaning of a memorandum of dynastic rights Moscow princes. These rights had been not interested for the author of edition. But very powerful and symbolically looks like the appearance of Vladimir – Baptist of Rus – in the beginning. That is, LRP-2 received a new significance as the overture to the chronicle.

Determine the circumstances of the appearance LRP-2 is not possible; one could assume that this transformation has been specially made for this chronicle. Here, considering the "Epitome Metropolitan Photius," we'll come back to the question about the idea of remaking the LRP.

Tale of Batu's attack

Compare the text of the novel 1237 – 1238-s in following four chronicles: Sophia 1st chronicles older recension (S1LSI, 1418), Novgorod Karamzin chronicle (NKL, 1428), 4th Novgorod Chronicle (N4L, 1447) and Bil1L. Table contain 37 rows, 4 copies are compared.

The thing is quite obvious: NKL and N4L form a close pair, which is quite significantly different from S1LSI. Bil1L shows a rather close relationship with the couple and the independence of the characteristic peculiarities S1LSI.

Tale of Neva battle

Tale of the Neva Battle of 6748 (1240) year placed in the same 4 chronicles that the tale of the Batu's attack. Based on the review tale of the Batu's attack we can omit the comparison with S1LSI and focus on three chronicles: NKL – N4L – Bil1L. Table contain 7 rows, 3 texts are compared.

We can see that the material in this tale does not give us nothing new, only confirms the fact that Bil1L depending on NKL – N4L. There are only few discrepancies, and they are mostly omissions of individual words, from which nothing can withdraw.

Lapidary chronicle of late 13 – early 14 cent.

Check the source records Bil0L for 2 half 13 – early 14 cent. (up to 1309), comparing it with the NKL and N4L. In Table 20 rows, 3 texts are compared.

The comparison shows that all the news Bil0L come from NKL – N4L, differences are unsuccessful abbreviations and explanations, which did not imply a special source.

Table of news 1310 – 1427 years

Let us look for sources Bil0L records from 14 – early 15 cent. (up to 1409), comparing it with available chronicles 1 half 15 cent.: Trinity [TL on reconstruction M. D. Priselkov; lost fragments denoted by "?"], Simeon [SimL, PSRL, vol. 18], Rogozhsky chronicler [RogL, PSRL, vol. 15, ch. 1], S1LSI, NKL and N4L.

Table contains 241 rows, compared 7 texts.

Analysis of news 1310 – 1427 years

We have brought to the table **all news** Bil0L for 1310 – 1427 years. What it gives us to determine Bil0L sources?

First of all, it should be noted that our large table clearly divided vertically into two groups, we have abbreviated call MTG and the SNG (MTG – "Moscow-Tver group of chronicles" to refer to the TL – SimL – RogL; SNG – "Sophia-Novgorod group of chronicles" to refer to S1LSI – NKL – N4L) and horizontally – into three bands, the first of which covers the news of 1 – 125 (6818/1310 – 6893/1385 years), the second – news 126 – 190 (6893/1385 – 6918 / 1410), third – news 191 – 239 (6918/1410 – 6935/1427 year).

These three bands correspond to the three sources of Bil0L. It is very well seen from the following summary table (compiling them, the first thing I looked at the fact of the presence of record in the annals, and only secondarily – on the text design of record).

The first source (1310 – 1385)

The most striking borrowing from SimL are episode 1 (1310, Metropolitan Peter in Bryansk), 4 (1316 Novgorodians in Torzhok), 8 (1318 plague in Tver). Thus, there is no doubt that the scribe Bil0L used SimL.

The most striking borrowing from RogL are episode 13 (1325, Church of St. Theodore in Tver), 16 (1326, prince Alexander the great reign), 38 (1341, prince Konstantin of Suzdal), 45 (1347, scandalous marriage prince Semen Ivanovich), 55 (1352 revolt in Constantinople). Thus, there is no doubt that the scribe Bil0L used RogL.

Oddly, none of the researchers did not see traces Rogozhsky chronicler in Bil0L – all repeated one after the other, the source said messages is unknown. I had to work as Shakhmatov (but not getting his academic salary!).

The second source (1385 – 1410)

Radically different situation we find in the second group. Here, 56 entries of 65, or 86%, we can explain by the use of only one source – Sophia 1st chronicle older recension.

The third source (1410 – 1427)

In the third group, we see the continued use of S1LSI until its end (borrowing to Bil0L stop at 1418 – end year S1LSI, later in Bil0L are extremely unique news). But from this source is taken only 32% of the messages; the rest – are unique news Bil0L, which obviously centered around Metropolitan Photios.

Therefore, we can safely assume that the author of this part Bil0L (and probably also the editor-compiler of all Bil0L to 1427) was a scribe Metropolitan Photios (SMF). The Bil0L in part to 1427 can be called "Epitome of Metropolitan Photius" (EMF), which we discuss in more detail in [final section](#).

Battle on the Vorskla river in 1399

"Tale the Battle on the Vorskla river" in the "Belarusian" chronicle is derived from the S1LSI. Analysis of it – very simple but instructive.

[Versions text "Belarusian" chronicles](#)

[Versions text "Lithuanian" chronicles](#)

[Analysis versions](#)

Conclusions

1. This tale in the "Belarusian" and "Lithuanian" chronicles entirely dependent on the Sophia 1st chronicles older recension and can not be any historical source. At separate

essay dedicated to the history of the tale text, it will be shown that even the ancient text as part Bil0L severely damaged.

2. When copying the "Belarusian" and "Lithuanian" chronicles this story has continued to deteriorate, so I strongly recommend that historians use to study the text S1LSI rather than these chronicles. Especially characteristic appearance of a literary hero ***Promcheslov***, which has spread to a number of copies.

3. The scribes of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania **had no idea** about the battle of the Vorskla river. All they knew about it – borrowed from the Moscow chronicles.

Versions text "Belarusian" chronicles

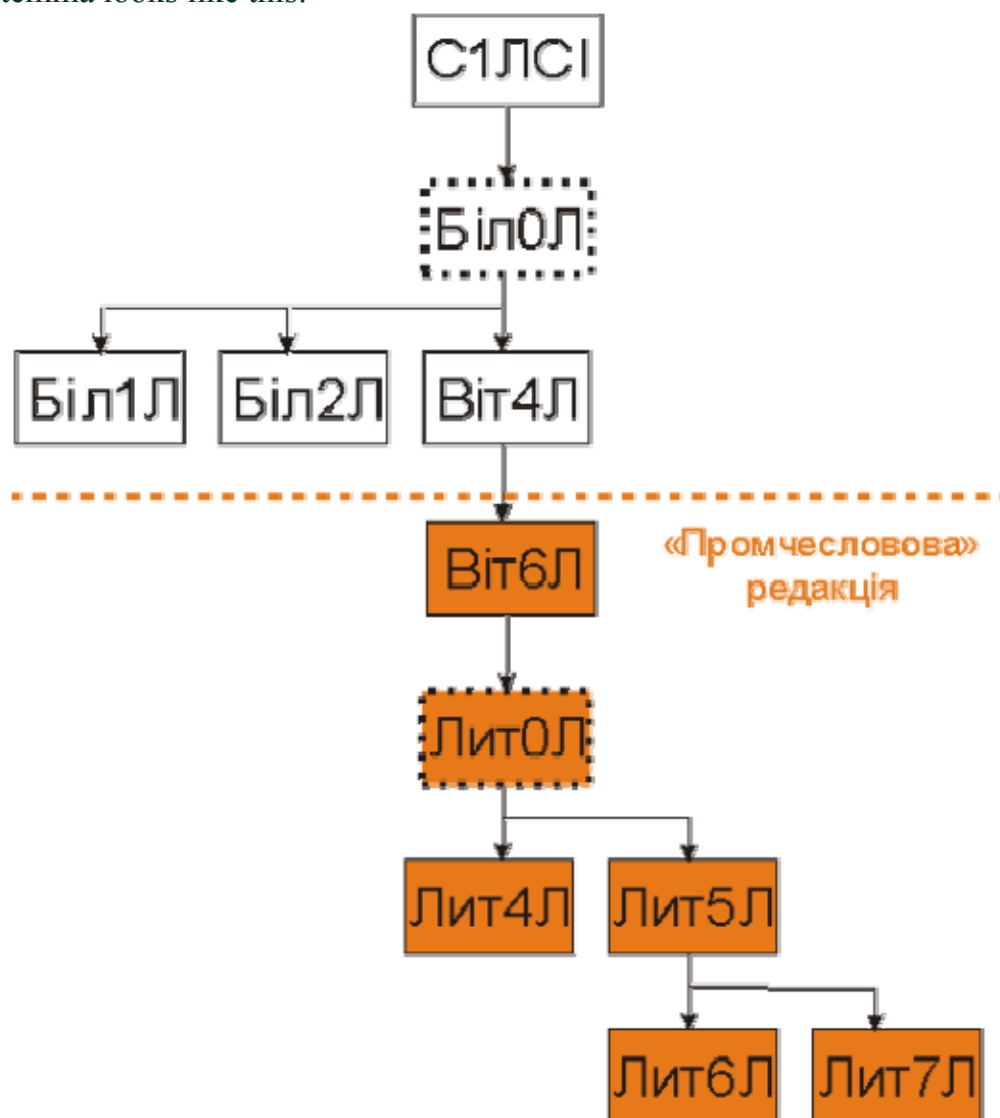
Table contain 39 rows, 4 copies compared.

Versions text "Lithuanian" chronicles

Table contain 39 rows, 5 copies are compared.

Analysis versions

So stemma looks like this:



Stemma "Tale the Battle on Vorskla river"

Unique data 1310 – 1410 years

Leaving for further consideration a lot of unique data in the third part, we consider the unique data Bil0L contained in the first and second parts (episodes 1 – 190). They can be divided into completely unique news (there are 7 of these, 6 of them – in the first part) and unique details in records, known from other chronicles. Author Bil0L, which we always have to remember, we will designate as SMF (scribe Metropolitan Photios).

The most important news is the first group, which can be regarded as signs of the now unknown details of sources. It is only 4.5% of the total number of episodes, but our knowledge of this time is so limited, that every word, which is not an late invention, have a lot of weight. Their importance increased because relatively early time of their recording – approx. 1427.

Their significance is increased by the fact that in general the SMF was not prone to fantasies – records with his own words only 7%, and that some of them look believable. At least here we do not see any unknown prince, any unknown military campaign or a battle, anyone of the unknown wonders. Time "enrichment" of our history such large-scale fantasies is yet to come – the sixteenth century was to come.

Chronicle Metropolitan Photius

We have already noted that Bil0L in terms of 1410 – 1427 years very different from the previous parts by the mass of unique information and the fact that they are all grouped around the Metropolitan Photius.

To better understand the meaning of these messages, we will draw up a complete list of all the events surrounding the Metropolitan Photius, with the main chronicles 15. The table contains 43 rows, 4 columns.

We see that the Chronicle Metropolitan Photius (CMF) as part Bil0L limited episodes 1 – 37; for the subsequent years in other annals we have news of Photios, but they were not included in Bil0L. Therefore, we can say quite confidently that CMF replenishment stopped between February and April 1427, and it can be assumed that the cause of death was a chronicler of the plague, which avoided him one and half year (from autumn 1425).

Competence of the author CMF in those matters about which he wrote, and its proximity to Metropolitan – have no doubt. He, of course, accompanied Photius in his travels in Lithuania, and in trips through villages near Moscow, hence a large number of exact dates.

With respect the total number of messages about Photios for 1410 – 1427 years, the unique news CMF account for 38%; moreover, in such episodes 10, 12, 31, CMF provides unique details that were not included in any other chronicle. Therefore CMF is an important source for the biography of Photius, and for the history of this period as a whole.

Versions text Smolensk chronicle

The table contain 40 rows, 9 copies are compared.

Analysis Smolensk chronicle

We have 9 copies of Smolensk chronicles (Sm0L), and [comparison table](#) very clearly it shows that it was written for Bil0L. Corresponding part of the "Vytautas" chronicle came from Bil0L in an abbreviated form. This reduced view was reflected in

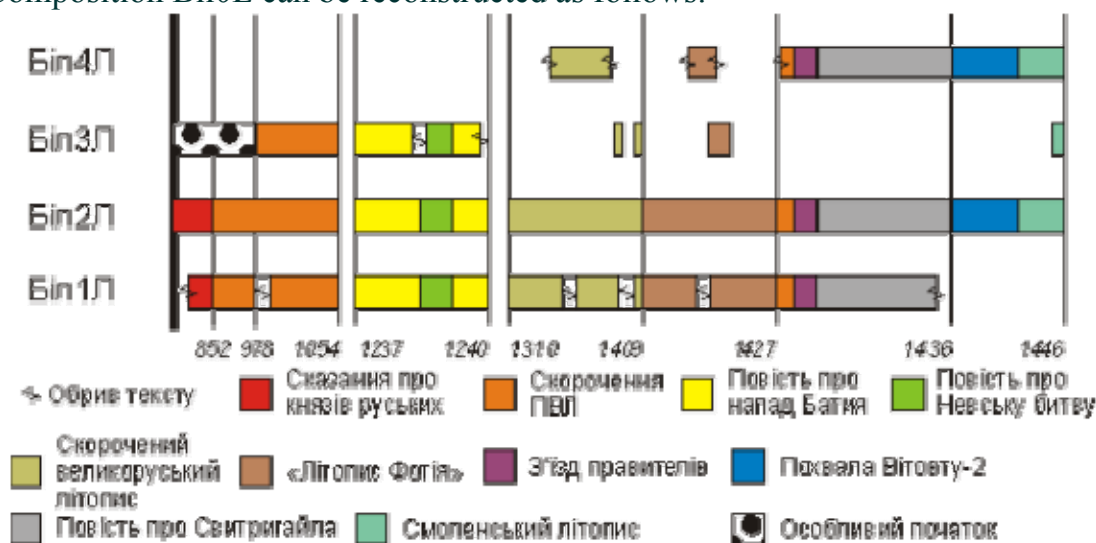
the Vit4L and Vit6L; and Lit4L – Lit7L depend on them, repeating their specific slips, there is no self-handling to Bil0L in them.

Reconstruction of the "Belarusian" chronicle

Let us now sum up our observations on the structure and sources of "Belarusian" chronicles.

The first conclusion is that all four copies derived from the same protograph, which we denote Bil0L. Its copies are independent treatments, cuts, none of the existing copies can not be deduced simply from the other, each has a deteriorations and improvements in comparison to other readings.

Composition Bil0L can be reconstructed as follows:



The composition of the "Belarusian" chronicle in different copies

The second conclusion is that Bil0L formed in two stages. The first stage the annals has been brought to 1427, the second after 1446 – supplemented by materials from the "Vytautas" and Smolensk chronicles.

The first part Bil0L – from the beginning to 1427 – is a separate product that can be called **Epitome (abbreviated chronicle) Metropolitan Photios (EMF)**.

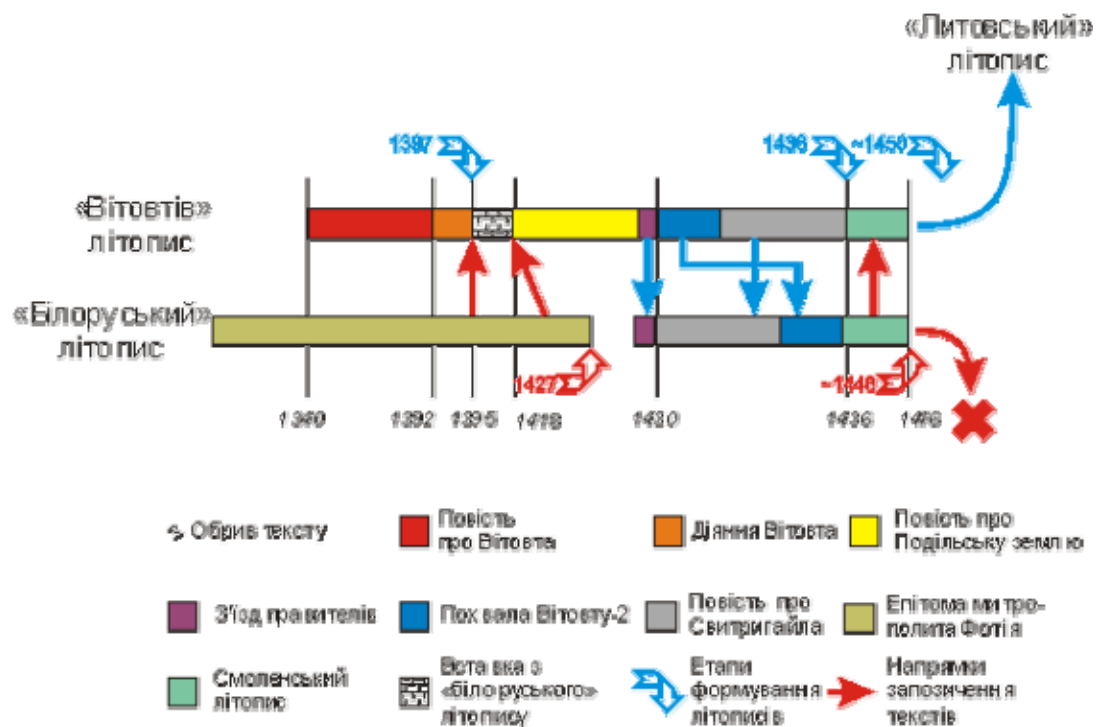
The basis of the reconstruction of EMF have to take the most comprehensive copy – Bil2L, although it abounds with bad read fragments.

What was the purpose of drawing up EMF? If I wrote a historical novel, I would have thought, the supreme authority fell on the shoulders of prince Vasily II in 1425, when he was only 10 years old. He had to learn, and the Metropolitan Photius decided to compile a handbook on the history of the Moscow ruling kin for him. Perhaps it was more for the benefit for the teacher than the student. But the student had to learn that he is a descendant and successor of glorious traditions of the state.

Later, after 1436, EMF has been supplemented by materials from the "Vytautas" chronicle (almost certainly it was protograph Vit4L, since it contains Praise of Vytautas 2nd edition). Protograph Vit4L may not be completely arranged manuscript, but a set of separate notebooks, the order of which has not yet been definitively established. So in Bil0L "Tale of Švitrigaila" not quite logical climbed between the story of the Congress rulers and Praise of Vytautas.

Thus, in the mid-15th century (supposedly in 1446 – 1450 years) in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was finally formed two independent in the base, but mutually related

historical works – "Vytautas" Chronicle (better represented in Vit4L) and "Belarusian" chronicle (Bil0L, better copies – Bil1L and Bil2L).



Interaction of the two traditions of the chronicles Grand Duchy of Lithuania

After that chronicles the Grand Duchy of Lithuania once again stopped at 40 – 50 years, recovering only in the late 15th century. (It is from this period come the first preserved to our time copies – Vit1L and Bil1L).

"Lithuanian" chronicle

From the preceding exposition, we see that Lit1L is a relatively late product, which occupies a special place among the other copies of "Lithuanian" chronicle. So we practiced postponed it for dessert, but for now let's see what else contain other copies besides "Vytautas" chronicle disassembled by us.

"Lithuanian" chronicle formed by "rigging" "Vytautas" chronicles: at the beginning it is attached the article "Fabulous emergence of Lithuania" (from the Emperor Augustus to Gediminas), and in the end – the article "Annals of King Sigismund", or "Short chronicle Lithuania" (description of the events from the end of the 15th century until completing the annals).

[Fabulous emergence of Lithuania](#)

[Annals of King Sigismund](#)

[Short chronicle Lithuania](#)

[Reconstruction of the "Lithuanian" chronicle](#)

Conclusions

1. In 1520-30-ies on the basis of the Vit6L (approximately late 15 – early 16th century) was written Lit0L – common protograph of "Lithuanian" chronicles. This included protograph "Erdivil" edition "Fabulous emergence of Lithuania" and edited "Vytautas" chronicle.
2. Later, on the basis of "Erdivil" edition was created "Nemonos" edition "Fabulous emergence of Lithuania", and it replaced the "Erdivil" edition in some copies.
3. Later, the various copies of "Lithuanian" chronicle replenished with "Annals of King Sigismund" different editions and / or "Short chronicle Lithuania."
4. In the future, "Lithuanian" chronicle was not replenished, but only copied. These copies were used in compilative works. Print the latter (especially – Strykowski's "Chronicle") blocked the way of the further development of chronicles in the narrow sense of the word.

Fabulous emergence of Lithuania

Let us consider the "Fabulous emergence of Lithuania" (FEL) stored in 7 copies. As always – who are not interested in the small details can immediately jump to conclusions.

[Variants text](#)

[Chronograph](#)

[Analysis versions](#)

[Encyclopedia R. Maffei](#)

[Frame and filling elements](#) [Galician-Volhynian chronicle](#)

[Set of names](#)

[Origin of the story](#)

Conclusions

1. FEL was written by the unknown author in one sitting, roughly between 1519 and 1539 years. The same author has made editorial changes to the "Tale of Vytautas" (edition TOV-3) for harmonization the latter with FEL.

2. The original wording FEL was "Erdivil" edition; later came "Nemonos" edition, which differs system replacement workers names while preserving the narrative structure. Shortened copy Lit3L was made after this later edition.

3. The main source of FEL was Galician-Volhynian chronicle, which served for author as a warehouse of finished construction elements and structures, with a very small extent of direct citation.

4. Smaller sources were – Rogvolod's inscription on the stone, the life of St. Euphrosyne, "Acts of Vytautas", from the "Vytautas" chronicle, Encyclopedia Raffaello Maffei (1506), place names in Lithuania and Belarus. In one episode, one can discern traces of the heroic epic or Goštautai family tradition.

5. Almost certainly FEL was written in Vilnius, the capital of the state.

6. The political aim of the works – to show the origin of the high ancestry of Jagiellonian ruling dynasty, and in such a way to link the history of Lithuania to the "world" (pan-European) history. FEL was supposed to be an ideological weapon against Moscow's claims to the succession of power from the emperor Augustus. Some importance of this work was to consolidate the ruling class of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania around the idea of a common glorious (Roman) descent magnate and gentry families.

7. "Fabulous emergence of Lithuania" has no historical source value and should not be used for historical reconstructions. All works that are based on the FEL data definitely should be considered erroneous.

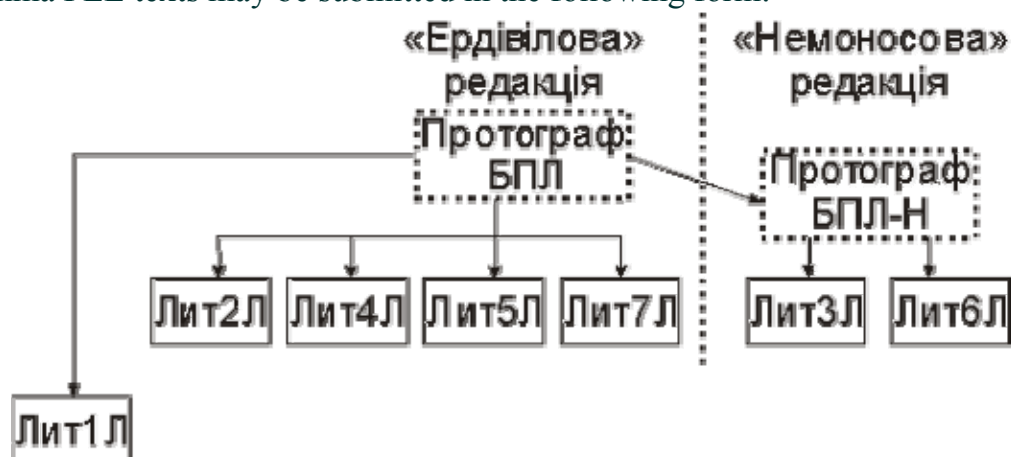
8. "Fabulous emergence of Lithuania" is of great interest for the history of the historical and social thought and the history of literature.

Versions text

In the following table comparing the variants "Fabulous emergence of Lithuania" (FEL) in different copies. Table contains 84 rows, 7 copies.

Analysis versions

Stemma FEL texts may be submitted in the following form:



Stemma copies "Fabulous emergence of Lithuania"

1. The existence of a common protograph for all FEL copies unquestionably follows from the fact that in all the copies preserved in whole composition of the episodes, their sequence and pattern of events. This protograph belong to "Erdivil" edition.

2. From this protograph were independently derived copies Lit1L, Lit2L, Lit4L, Lit5L, Lit7L, while only the Lit1L copy contains insertion – borrowing from the Galician-Volhynian chronicle.

Frame and filling elements

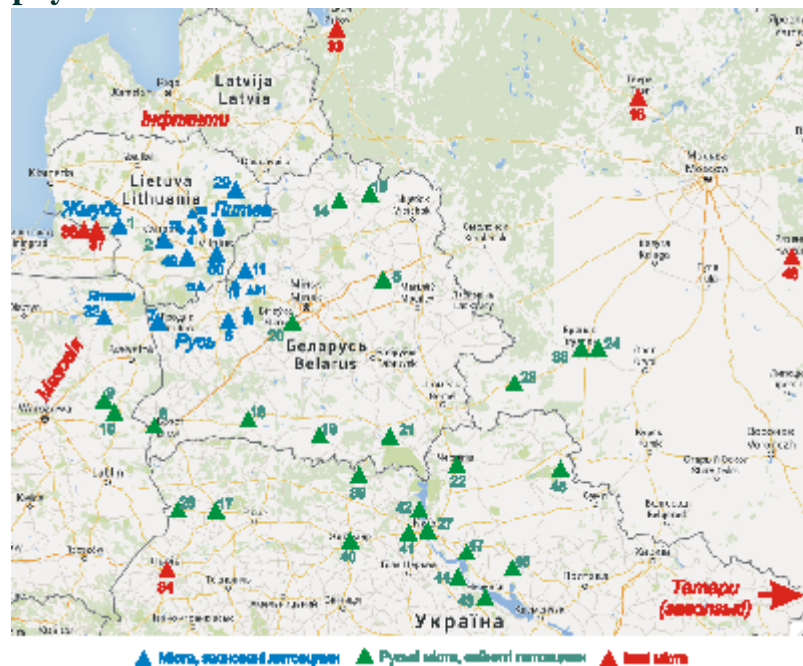
Let us now consider the content of FEL.

At this point I want to emphasize the difference between the "fabulous history" and "fantastic story." Fantastic I call a "story", which was invented from scratch and does not reflect any realities of the past. Fabulous story based on some real facts, giving them unrealistic color or diluting its with fantastic episodes.

Fabulous history consists of a supporting structure (frame), which generally corresponds to historical realities, and filling structures – details that need to convince the reader of the veracity of the written. We do not have the right rely on such details (while writing a science, not a historical novel).

This approach has long been used, for example, in the reconstruction of the history of the Jews on the basis of the Old Testament, or the extraction of historical data with folklore.

FEL **geography** looks like this:

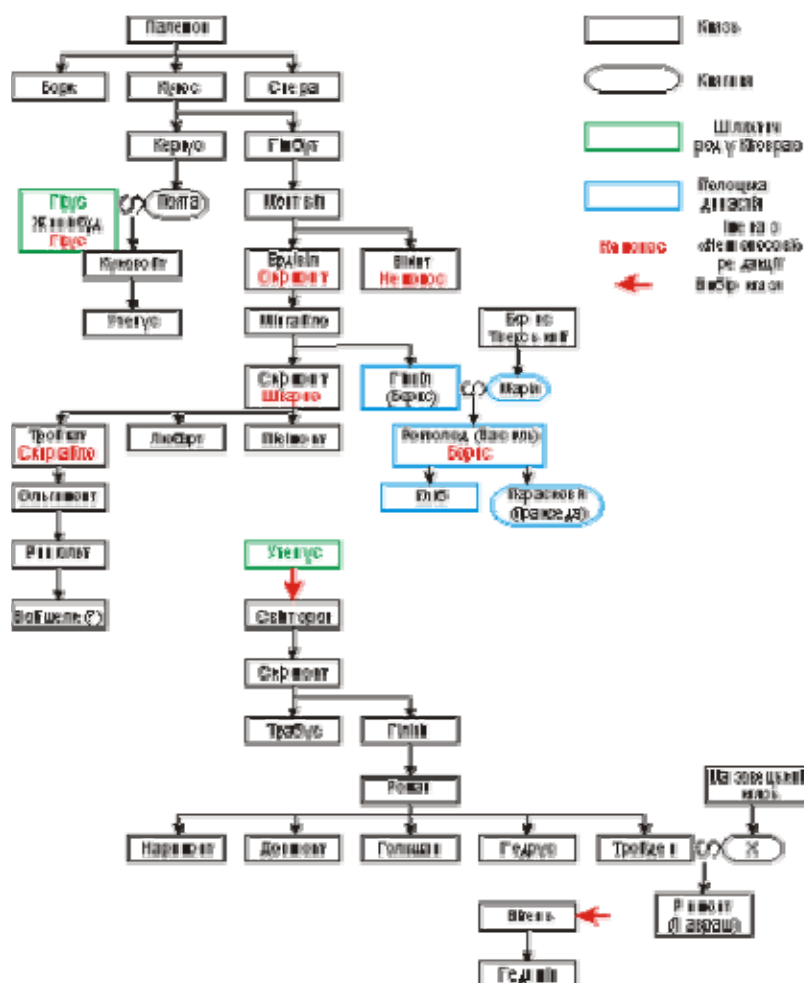


Map of geographical names in "Fabulous emergence of Lithuania"

The numbers on the map indicated by (in order of mention in the FEL): 1 – Jurbork; 2 – Kunosov (Kaunas) 3 – Lake Spera; 4 – Kernave; 5 – Drutsk; 6 – Novgorodok; 7 – Grodno; 8 – Brest; 9 – Drogichin; 10 – Melnik; 11 – Oshmiany; 12 – Eyshishki; 13 – Grovzhishki; 14 – Gorodets (Sharkovshchina district, Vitebsk region); 15 – Polotsk; 16 – Tver; 17 – Lutsk; 18 – Pinsk; 19 – Turov; 20 – Koydanovo; 21 – Mozyr; 22 – Chernigov; 23 – Starodub; 24 – Karachev; 25 – Lake Zhosli (Zhaslyay, Žasliai); 26 – Devyaltov (modern Deltuva near Vilkomir-Ukmerge); 27 – Kiev; 28 – Vladimir; 29 – Vilnius; 30 – Gedroyty (Giedraičiai); 31 – Golshany; 32 – Raygorod (Rajgród); 33 – Pskov; 34 – Lviv; 35 – Lavrashev monastery; 36 – Tilsit; 37 – Ragneta (Ragnit, under Soviet occupation – Neman); 38 – Bryansk; 39 – Ovruch; 40 – Zhytomir; 41 – Belgorod; 42 – Vyshgorod; 43 – Cherkasy; 44 – Kanev; 45 – Putivl; 46 – Slepород; 47 – Pereyaslav; 48 – Ryazan; 49 – Troki; 50 – Vilnius.

For obvious FEL fabrications belongs to the majority of the names of the princes and their genealogy. It is, after all, very well demonstrated by "Nemonos" edition FEL, in which many names replaced by others, including a completely unknown in "Erdivil"

edition – and nothing, the quality and credibility of the fable not affected. Therefore, the "genealogical constructions" are possible only in terms of – as the author of FEL imagined this genealogy, and in any case it is impossible to count them for some kind of reality.



Fabulous genealogy of the first Lithuanian princes

Set of names

In contrast to the genealogy a set of names (and partially – the associations names with the cities) leads to some thoughts about the sources used by the author.

Roman names

Greek names

Toponymic names

Distributed Lithuanian name

Unique Lithuanian name

Fictional names

Rus' names

We see that a significant part of the Russian author names FEL could borrow from the Galician-Volhynian chronicle.

In general, techniques for working FEL author with names identical one of contemporary fiction writers, at least the same Ivan Franko. For example, in the story "[Zakhar Berkut](#)" we see common names *Zakhar*, *Maxim*; name *Miroslava* perhaps created by Franko, but now has become widespread; surname *Golden Eagle* also have in itself

nothing impossible, as well as *Wolf*. Name *Tugar* seems found only in this story, but there are epic [Tugarin Snake](#) and a fairly common surname [Tugarinov](#). Finally, Mongol *Burunda* in the story is formed from a historical [Burundai](#), but the writer has taken from history only a name, dropping all the associated real facts, and come up with new details to him.

Chronograph

We can not confirm the link between FEL and chronograph, although it is, of course, does not exclude that in the FEL could used the world literary themes. Their search must continue.

Encyclopedia R. Maffei

We have seen that the FEL author used some written source on the history of antiquity, ancient Rome and early Christianity. What could it be?

I hardly would have come to this idea, but the hint I gave from Matthew Strykowski: Volateranus.

Volateranus – this epithet Raffaello Maffei ([Raffaello Maffei](#) (Volaterranus), 1451 – 1522), author of the Encyclopedia «Commentariorum rerum urbanarum libri XXXVIII» (its editions: Rome, J. Besicken, 1506; Parigi, J. Petit – J. Bade, 1511; [Parigi, I. Paruo, 1526](#); Basilea, H. Froben, 1530; Lione, S. Gryphe, 1552 and others – it enjoyed extraordinary popularity). It consists of three parts: Geographia (libri 2 – 12), Antropologia (13 – 23), Philologia (24 – 38).

We will use the Paris edition of 1526, the benefit of it exposed on the Web.

Praxeda

Strykowski's reference was correct, and there is no doubt that this record read the FEL author too – because its factual information about Praxeda not exceed recorded.

Seneca

Palemon

Maybe that other information on the history of ancient Rome in FEL taken from the same source. The issue requires further study.

Galician-Volhynian chronicle

Let us now try to organize all links tracked by us above – between Galician-Volhynian chronicle (GVL) 13 cent. and FEL. In this case, we first consider the basic edition of FEL, and insertion from GVL in Lit1L leave for dessert.

List of Lithuanian princes

Russian names

When analyzing name set FEL, we see that the names of Mstislav, Roman, Leo coincide with the names of the sons of the prince Daniel Romanovich. It is also the name of Vladimir replies son Prince Vasilko Romanovich. Of these, Mstislav, Leo and Vladimir in FEL exposed as Volyn princes. Therefore, we can consider them borrowed from GVL.

Roman of Bryansk

Roman of Lithuania

Shvarno

Foundation of cities

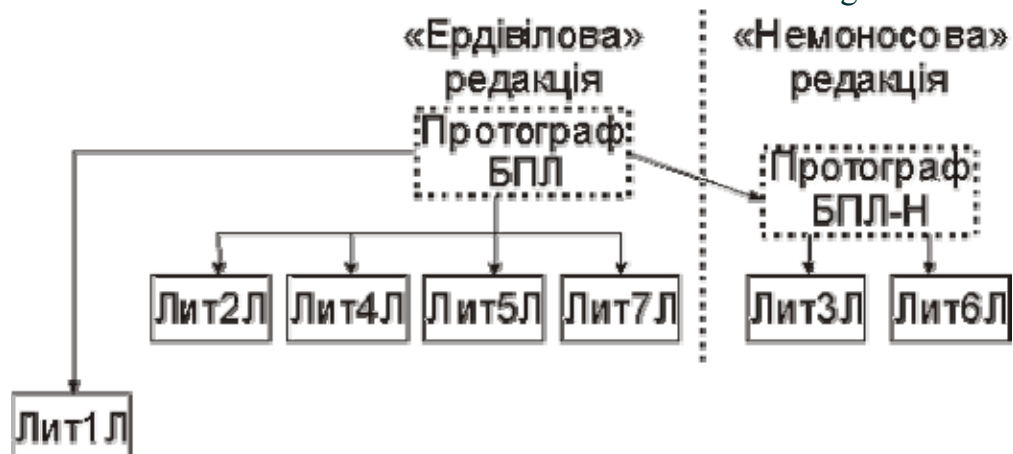
Tatars

Traidenis
 Direct references to the source
 "Trojan war"
 Dovmont
 Voishelk
 Brother kills brother
 Inserting in Lit1L

Author FEL used his source very creative, using names and assigning them to other activities, changing at their discretion their genealogical relationships.

Origin of the story

Now we summarize our observations on the text "Fabulous emergence of Lithuania."



Stemma copies "Fabulous emergence of Lithuania"

1. FEL preserved in 7 copies that derived from one protograph. Closer to protograph stand 4 copies of "Erdivil" version; from this edition comes protograph "Nemonos" edition, which is reflected in the two copies. The difference between "Nemonos" edition of "Erdivil" is replacing the names of characters while maintaining all of the narrative parts.

2. Special, late edition FEL takes in Lit1L. The beginning story had been rewritten, make the large insertion from Galician-Volhynian chronicle, which is not present in other copies.

3. The main source of FEL was Galician-Volhynian chronicle, as evidenced by the explicit reference in the text. This source is used very creatively, so in a cursory reading the dependence of FEL on the Galician-Volhynian chronicle is not evident.

8. By bringing together all the chronological observations, we propose an indicative date of creation of the FEL and the related amended TOV-3 – 1519 – 1539 years.

9. The purpose of writing FEL – to give an introduction to "Vytautas" chronicle and bind the history of Lithuania to the general history, as it was understood in the 16th century.

Annals of King Sigismund

Two lists of "Lithuanian" chronicle contain after VitL records of the late 15 – 1 half 16 cent. Since it concerns a large part of the reign of King Sigismund 1st, I gave these records the code name "Annals of King Sigismund" (AKS).

Versions text | Analysis versions
 Conclusions

Genetically related texts AKS can be divided into two versions.

The first edition, preserved fragmentary in Lit7L, covered the event (approximately) from 1506 to 1545. It was written in the style of the Moscow tradition of chronicles (numbered years from world creation).

The second edition has been created on the basis of the first by person of European Renaissance education after 1597. Year numbering here – from the birth of Christ. In part up to 1531 used chronicles by Decius (1521) and J. Belsky (1597). The time of its writing – the last years of the 16th or early 17th century.

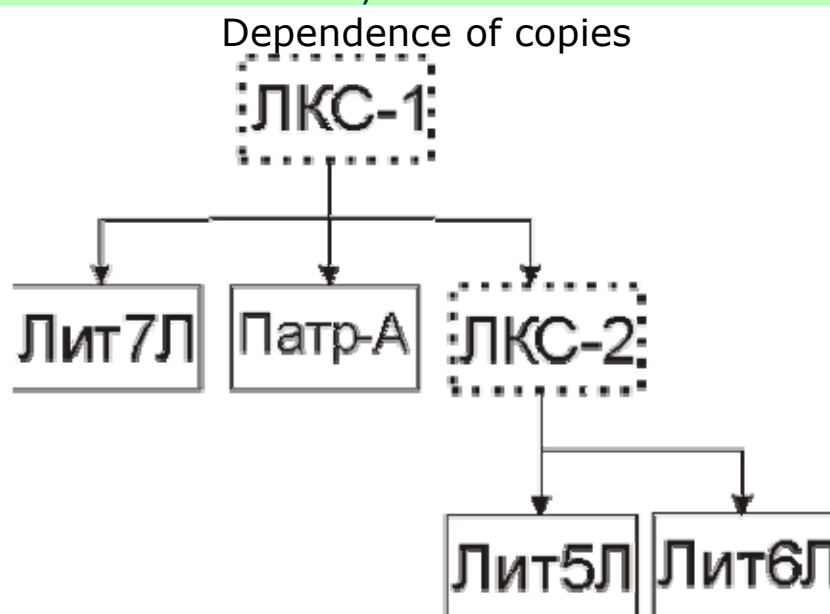
None of these revisions was not organic, integral part of the "Lithuanian" chronicle – each scribe, composing his collection, copied such text AKS, what he was able to get. So, AKS texts at that time existed in separate notebooks.

In the aspect of style AKS significantly different enough from LitL (see [comparison table](#)), so it is best regarded as a separate product.

Versions text

The table contains 120 rows, three copies are compared.

Analysis versions



Stemma "Annals of King Sigismund"

Sources

The first of these sources – the book Justus Decius (1485 – 1545) «De vetustatibus Polonorum liber I. De Iagellonum familia liber II. De Sigismundi regis temporibus liber III», published in Krakow in 1521, actually its third part, which covers the reign of King Sigismund to 1516 (I submit the page to publish third book, implemented Wiktor Chermak [Krakow: 1901]).

In the chronicle Joachim Bielski, published in 1597 (I used the reissue K. Turowski: Kronika Marcina Bielskiego – Sanok: 1856 [t. 2, s. 1052](#)), we see not just a coincidence of facts, but **textual proximity** recording AKS-2.

Thus, there is no doubt that the author of the AKS-2 used in a strong reduction of the chronicle of Decius and J. Belsky. Therefore, the time of this edition should be put not earlier than in 1597, when the J. Belsky work was published, or even later.

Short chronicle Lithuania

Two other copies of "Lithuanian" chronicle after VitL have the continuation other than AKS. In Lit4L this article has a separate heading, "The Chronicle of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, was written shortly", so we'll call it the "Short chronicle Lithuania" (SCL).

Dependence of copies

Table contain 46 rows, 2 copies are compared.

Conclusions

The comparative table shows that in the two copies we text a work that is better preserved in Lit4L and worse – in Lit7L. Recent episodes in Lit7L (40 – 46) do not belong, in my opinion, to SCL, and these additional notes are individual.

What could be the SCL?

My first thought was that this reduction AKS-2. In favor say two things: the style of annual articles and 21 episode from 39, common to AKS, that is, more than half of the content.

But there are serious objections to this assumption:

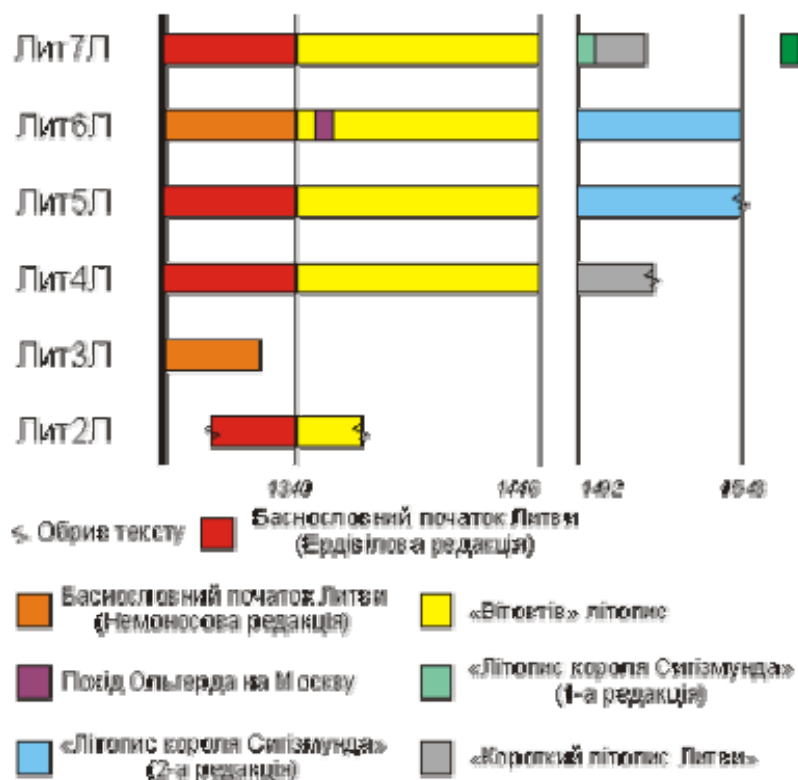
1. SCL is an independent work, which begins the story from the baptism of Lithuania. This – a special concept only of this work, which is not present in the AKS, nor in other works of the 16th century. The author does not care either for Palemon, either for Gediminas, but only to the Jagiello as the first king and his descendants.
2. The SCL has no trace of the Polish chronicles that abundantly used in the AKS-2.
3. AKS-2 in the form, in which we have obtain it, created at the turn of 16 – 17 centuries; but SCL preserved in the Lit4L copy, which dates from the year 1550, that is, it was written at least 50 years earlier.

SCL was designed not for complement "Lithuanian" chronicle, but for its replacement, presentation of the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the shortest form. Therefore, it can not be considered as a supplement LitL, but as the article that accompanies LitL in the collections of historical content.

So, we can assume probable time of preparation of SCL – 1540s, and the place of his writing – Vilna.

Reconstruction of the "Lithuanian" chronicle

The composition of the six copies of "Lithuanian" chronicle can be visualized as follows:



The composition of the "Lithuanian" chronicles in different copies

We can see that none of the preserved copies in its composition does not follow the other. The most similar to each other are Lit4L and Lit7L, but later Lit7L could not be derived from an earlier Lit4L, if for no other reason that Lit4L written in Polish.

The study "Annals of King Sigismund" and "Short chronicle Lithuania" convinces us that these articles were not an integral part of LitL. The scribes, wishing to continue LitL, attached to their copies such articles that have managed to find.

But it is possible to assume the existence Lit0L – common protograph "Lithuanian" chronicles. It derived from Vit6L and consisted of "Fabulous emergence of Lithuania" in Erdvil edition and edited "Vytautas" chronicle.

This common protograph marked not only on stemma "Fabulous emergence of Lithuania", but also on stemma "Tale of Vytautas" (as TOV-3), "Tale of Podillja land"(as TPL-2), "Praise of Vytautas "(as PV-4), "Tale the battle on Vorskla river" (as Lit0L).

That is the assumption Lit0L existence helps explain just a series of facts and other facts (for example, stemma "Tale of Švitrigaila") does not contradict this assumption.

Approximate time of creating Lit0L – 1520-30-ies. Later, for unknown reasons, based on "Erdvil" edition was created "Nemonos" edition "Fabulous emergence of Lithuania", and since the 1550s (two copies of Lit4L dated from 1550 and 1558 years [PSRL, 1980, T. 35, p. 13]) began to be attached to the Lit0L "Short chronicle Lithuania" or "Annals of King Sigismund." Thus, the formation of the composition of the majority of LitL copies can be dated 2 half 16 cent. Although part of the preserved copies were writed later.

Compilation works

Since the mid-16th century Lithuanian chroniclers in search of materials for the history of Lithuania began to turn to print Polish chronicles. With the spread of European (Latin) education, these works became more and more accessible, and due to their use there was a group of works, which can be called compilations.

The purpose of this section is to find out what "Lithuanian" and "Belarusian" chronicles were used in these compilations.

["Bychowiec chronicle" \(1560-s\)](#)

[Conversation Pole with Lithuanian \(1564\)](#)

[Messenger of virtue \(1574\)](#)

[Epitome of Lithuanian princes \(1576\)](#)

[Description of European Sarmatia \(1578\)](#)

[Strykowski Chronicle \(1582\)](#)

[Lithuanian and Zhmoit chronicle \(1588\)](#)

[Chronicle J. Bielski \(1597\)](#)

[Gustynsky chronicle \(1620-ies\)](#)

Conclusions

1. Compilation works reviewed by us are divided into two chronological groups: to Strykowski's chronicle inclusive and thereafter. The works of the first group used a manuscripts of "Lithuanian" chronicles, works of the second group had not used any manuscript, and used exclusively printed works Alexander Guagnini and Strykowski.

2. There are no traces of "Belarusian" chronicle in the compilations – just a "Lithuanian" one.

3. The greatest interest for compilers has caused "Fabulous emergence of Lithuania", which in almost every product has experienced modifications.

4. As one move from the fabulous times to the historical – increased part of the text compilers borrowed from Polish chronicles; for a time from 15th and even late 14th century these data strongly prevail over what was taken from the "Lithuanian" chronicle.

5. Compilers do not have and did not use any new sources for the history of Lithuania, except the Polish chronicles.

6. The basic law of the development of products considered – the transformation of the chronicle genre (like reliable information about the past events) in the historical genre (as a collection of interesting, exciting stories with a tendency to glorify the great ancestors), ie the conversion the documentary in the fiction.

7. With regard the artistic presentation – these products can be a source for the history of literature, the history of social and historical thought, but can not serve as a source for finding past events.

"Bychowiec chronicle" (1560-s)

The story compilations works begins from the "Bychowiec chronicle" – a work that stands on the edge of the traditional "Lithuanian" chronicles and later full-length compilations.

I repeat – I think the name of the product is extremely unfortunate. Bielski chronicle wrote Bielski, Strykowski chronicle – Strykowski. But Bychowiec had not writed any chronicle – he just was the last owner of its manuscript. Therefore, I prefer to call it Lit1L.

In previous chapters we have repeatedly drawn attention, that Lit1L delivers studied texts in special editions, often significantly different from the basic. Besides Lit1L has 46 pages of modern printing, whereas the most extensive "Lithuanian" chronicle – up to 28 such pages. In view of the losses at the beginning and at the end of Lit1L one can assume that its volume is twice that of other "Lithuanian" chronicles, and we need to find out what the new material brought in Lit1L.

[Fabulous emergence of Lithuania](#)

[Coronation of Vytautas](#)

[Tale of Vytautas](#)

[Conspiracy against Sigismund](#)

[Miracle of the Cross](#)

[Casimir – the Grand Duke](#)

[Marriages Jagiello](#)

[Events 2 half 15 – early 16 cent.](#)

[Vytautas – the conqueror](#)

[Historiography](#)

Conclusions

1. Author Lit1L used a number of written sources, among which we can confidently call Lit0L (or some of its copy), the Galician-Volhynian chronicle 13th century, copies Lit6L, Vit4L. As part of the 1383 – 1454 years actively used Chronicle M. Cromer, published in 1555. In describing the events 1503 – 1506 years one have traces of the use some Moscow chronicle.

Therefore, it is advisable to treat Lit1L not as the latest edition of "Lithuanian" chronicle, but as the first compilatory work written on the eve of a general move to the author's work.

2. The text of Lit1L compared to other "Lithuanian" chronicles genealogically is the most recent: it contains expressive borrowings of the previous texts, and from it any annals borrowed nothing. Therefore, we can assume that it is late not only genealogically, but chronologically too. Dependence on Cromer shows us that Lit1L could not been created before 1555, and only later, in the 1550-s or even the 1560-s.

3. While significant fragments of the text "Lithuanian" chronicles rewritten in the Lit1L, from Cromer author mostly chose only some of the details, which are frame, and cling to that frame its own extensive narrative. They are all inventions of the author Lit1L and can not be any historical source.

4. The tendency of these inventions sufficiently expressive – praise of the Great Duchy of Lithuania, kind of Lithuanian nationalism.

5. Lit1L is irrelevant historical source. Up to the end of the 15th century it contains (except for borrowing from previous works) only own imagination of the author. The text of the late 15th – early 16th century, which is considered by many authors the original and authentic, requires careful checking with other sources. Somehow it is not

clear where the author of the 1560-s could took the details of the events that took place on 50 – 70 years earlier.

6. The high literary value makes Lit1L interesting object for in the history of literature research, historiography and history of social thought.

Fabulous emergence of Lithuania

1. Lit1L begins with "Fabulous emergence of Lithuania" in "Erdivil" edition. This immediately shows us **the first source** – Lit0L or some derivative of it copy of "Erdivil" edition.

In the FEL author Lit1L made two significant changes.

1-1. In the beginning, it is given version of the origin Palemon other than the basic. From it only preserved the end of the story, but it definitely shows that the author deduce Palemon of Venice, not from Rome, as in other "Lithuanian" chronicles.

1-2. In the middle FEL there is a large insertion (episodes 44 – 52), which retells the story of Mindaugas and Voishelk from Galician-Volhynian chronicle. This insertion is not found in any other "Lithuanian" chronicles. Therefore, we can assume the Galician-Volhynian chronicle **second source** Lit1L, and the text itself – late in relation to other, earlier, "Lithuanian" chronicles.

Bringing history with FEL to the death of Gediminas, the author Lit1L, follows the traditions of "Lithuanian" chronicles, goes in the "Tale of Vytautas".

Tale of Vytautas

2. "Tale of Vytautas" basically has edition TOV-3 (ie, the very Lit0L), but here we can point to a specific copy – Lit6L, from which the author Lit1L borrowed the tale of Algirdas march on Moscow. That is Lit6L acts **third source** Lit1L. Let me remind you here that Lit6L refers to "Nemonos" edition, so FEL as part Lit1L could not have come from Lit6L.

2-1. Continuous text of "Tale of Vytautas" in Lit1L broken by numerous inserts, the first of which – is the shortened "Tale of Podillja land" inserted under the 1351 year.

In analyzing the peculiar readings "Tale of Vytautas" I was surprised to see that it is only the beginning of it depends on Lit6L and its end contains a expressive unique readings Vit4L.

Miracle of the Cross

2-6. This miracle is told in an episode of the TOV, 57-a.

In Dlugosz under the 1383 year one can read fairly detailed narrative as Jagiello retook Dorogichin from Mazovia princes [Jana Długosza Roczniki czyli kroniki sławnego królestwa Polskiego. – Warszawa: 2009, ks. 10 1370 – 1405, s. 175 – 176].

According to Dlugosz this news repeated Miechowski [Chronica Polonorum[m]. – Kraków: 1519 p. 267] and Cromer (his chronicle was published in 1555, I looked Polish translation [Kronika polska Marcina Kromera biskupa warmińskiego. – Sanok: 1857 s. 701]).

Two storylines – Holy Cross and captured girl – intersect at the climax, the decision to return the shrine. All as prescribed by the rules of the historical novel, as if the author graduated the Literary Institute. And followed by solution and a happy ending.

Two important conclusions follow from this analysis: 1, Polish Chronicle referred to were **fifth source** Lit1L; 2, clearly visible transformation of the chronicle genre in the

history (fiction) genre (even historical novel). The author does not care about the authenticity of what he writes, he takes care of the connectivity, interest and exciting intrigue narrative.

Marriages Jagiello

2-7. The edition of the 59th episode TOV – marriage Jagiello with Jadwiga – should be considered as just own inventions of the author,

5. The story about Jagiello engagement and marriage with Sophia Golshanska placed in Lit1L after 1401 and before the article by article 1402.

Of course the story is based on Dlugosz [Jana Długosza Roczniki czyli kroniki sławnego królestwa Polskiego. – Warszawa: 2009, ks. 11, 1413 – 1430, s. 159, 165 – 166, 203 – 206], although it does not contain any direct text borrowings. In Dlugosz this news spread in the articles 1421 – 1424 years. Miechowski have said about this very briefly [Chronica Polonorum]. – Kraków: 1519 [p. 285](#)]. But it in a short form (with preservation of all material facts) are presented in Cromer [Kronika polska Marcina Kromera biskupa warmińskiego. – Sanok: 1857 [s. 856 – 857](#)].

Everything else should be considered as the result of the writer's imagination of Lit1L author, who used book Cromer, not Miechowski. Thus, the estimated time of writing Lit1L we can determine more confident – after 1555.

Vytautas – the conqueror

7. Solar eclipse for author Lit1L – sign of the next war Vytautas with the Moscow Prince Vasily Dmitrievich.

From other sources (and then much later than the events themselves!) only confirmed the fact of standing on the Ugra, other details Lit1L have no matches there.

8. Next Lit1L stories – how Vytautas won Pskov and Novgorod.

We can see that the real history has only two common points with story Lit1L – 1, Porkhov siege; 2, unsuccessful for Vytautas. I think they are a coincidence. Six months of siege – this is definitely a fantasy author Lit1L, the duration of the siege is not specified in any source.

I think the only source of stories 7 and 8 was "Praise of Vytautas", from which the author Lit1L read that Moscow, Novgorod and Pskov serve Vytautas. Therefore, he suggested that this was due to the successful wars Vytautas; all other details have been invented by him.

9. The following is the story of the battle of Grunwald with a completely erroneous date of 6921 (1412). All the details of this battle in Lit1L – fictional.

Coronation of Vytautas

12. Jagiello advises Vytautas to take care of the crown. Vytautas defines this congress in Lutsk and invites Christian emperor, the Danish king, the princes of the Pomeranian, Silesian, German, Grand Dukes of Moscow, Tver, Ryazan, king of Perekop, governor Moldavia.

This list is a modernized and further expanded list of the 3rd edition "Praise of Vytautas".

The author Lit1L gives free rein to his political fantasies: "The Poles were not gentry, they were simple people, and with great gifts joined in Czech gentry emblems. And we,

the Lithuanian gentry, does not need then, because our nobility is a long time ago, the Roman, and therefore do not need Polish coats of arms, and hold our own ancestral".

That has such processing undergone old "Praise of Vytautas" under the pen of the author Lit1L. From the wreckage of the old story built a new one, abundantly enriched author's imagination.

Conspiracy against Sigismund

15. The following is a story about the murder of Prince Sigismund Kestutaitis dated 6948 or 1440 a year (a rare case, both years the right).

This talented story even now forces the reader to strain and worry (literature, as we know, is the art of the word, and here we fully see this art). But what sources it is held?

The fact of the murder and the date – Palm Sunday (March 20, 1440) – already contains a Smolensk chronicle ([episode 11](#)), but this valuable record of current event does not give any details.

We see that Cromer repeated in a strong reduction Dlugosz story, but added a bear (possibly used here some wandering story, but it need a separate historical and literary studies).

The significance of this story as a historical source – zero, as all the details that appear for the first time 100 – 110 – 120 years after the event, should be regarded as inventions of the late author.

Casimir – the Grand Duke

16. This detailed story Lit1L as a whole has no analogies in other sources. In them we find only a few details.

There are used Dlugosz and Cromer.

These details were used by the author Lit1L that wont mount them in this – the imaginary! – sequence. So, this second series of "Lithuanian revolution", just like the first, is based on the Cromer and the same does not have the value of the source.

Events 2 half 15 – early 16 cent.

17. The next episode Lit1L – rebellion in Smolensk after the death of Grand Duke Sigismund – rewritten from Smolensk chronicle.

18. Subsequent short story about the war with Russia in 6953 (1445) year borrowed from Smolensk chronicle too.

19. Mikhaylushko conspiracy against Casimir. In this story, the author Lit1L devotes importance princes Volozhinski, about which any current source does not mention [Wolff J. Kniazowie litewsko-ruscy od końca 14 w. – Warszawa: 1895, s. 684].

22. Next Lit1L briefly talks about Prussian War and Czech affairs of King Casimir. At this place more attention is paid to the battle of Chojnice (1454). Named Lithuanian heroes, any of which were not seen at Chojnice by contemporaries, but the author Lit1L from a distance of more than 100 years should be better seen. So, we have here another example of the method of working our author: minor skeletal elements borrowed from Cromer, strung patriotic imagination, flattering to the national feelings of Lithuanians.

Description of the unsuccessful campaign of the Moscow troops at Kazan in 1506 is expressive borrowing from some Moscow chronicles [Sophia 2nd Chronicles – PSRL, 2001, vol. 6, Part 2, col. 375 – 376; or Annals of the 72-language junior recension – PSRL, 1962, vol. 28, p. 339]. As usual, the author Lit1L could not make a mess and suffered a campaign that took place in the spring, in the fall.

Historiography

Lit1L – the only one considered chronicles, which was lucky for researchers. It was the subject of several separate articles that are useful to consider here, on the heels Lit1L analysis without delay in the section "[historiography](#)".

Theodore Narbutt (1838)

Narbutt F. About Russian chronicle in Lithuania called Bychowiec chronicle. – Journal of the Ministry of Education, 1838, number 7, pp. 109 – 114.

As to the intrinsic value of chronicle, it may be of no value, because the circumstances there described have nothing to do with the historical materials about the events in Lithuania (p. 112).

Unfortunately, historians have not listened in the next 177 years this sober assessment, which is now on the 178th year, it is fully confirmed my analysis.

Jan Jakubowski (1912)

Jakubowski J. [Studia nad stosunkami](#) narodowościowymi na Litwie przez unię Lubelską. – Warszawa: E. Wende, 1912. – 4, 104 s.

Despite the very small volume, Jakubowski article contains a lot of correct positions, which would have to be guided by the following researchers.

Teoctist Sushicki (1919)

Sushicki T. Western-Russian chronicles as a literary monuments. – Kyiv: 1930. – 404 p.

What T. S. said of the Lit1L faithful – is quite a bit of new, and the new – just a little true.

Nikolai Ulashchik (1966)

Bychowiec chronicle. – M.: Nauka, 1966. – 154 p.

The book contains Russian translation Lit1L with a foreword and commentary N. Ulashchik. This is – first commented edition of the chronicle from the number of subjects.

Boris Floria (1967)

Floria B. N. About the "Bychowiec chronicle". – "[Sources and historiography of medieval Slavic](#)", Moscow, 1967, p. 135 – 144.

Observation of B. F. about Goštautai role in FEL can be taken, and all the rest should be discarded.

Vyacheslav Chemeritsky (1969)

Chemeritsky V. A. Belarus chronicles as literary monuments. – Minsk: 1969. – 190 p.

In general, this section of the book Chemeritsky deserves quite commendable. Main provisions made him for Lit1L one can take now.

Rimantas Jasas (1971)

Lithuanian historian [Rimantas Jasas](#) (1929 – 2002) published in 1971 in Vilnius his translation Lit1L into the Lithuanian language, with comments [Lietuvos metraštis: Bychovco kronika. – Vilnius, 1971].

Mieczysław Juchas (1974)

Juchas M. A. Bychowiec chronicle. – "Annals and chronicles. 1973", Moscow, 1974, p. 220 – 231.

The most interesting assumption M. Juchas – a "chronicle of Jan Goštautai", which, however, has nothing to do with the chronicle Goštautai introduced by B. Floria. Thus, in these arguments a lot of subjective, and research should continue.

Other research

Many other works does not present in the public domain on the Web. Therefore, their analysis and evaluation, I leave to future generations of researchers.

In general we can say that the work of many generations of researchers Lit1L still not over, in particular, not all were convinced of what Theodore Narbutt was convinced immediately – that Lit1L cannot be any historical source. Here we clearly see that no one is able to grasp the immensity (except – retired theoretical physicists).

Conversation Pole with Lithuanian (1564)

The work, entitled «Rozmowa Polaka z Litwinem» was once printed as a separate booklet, but was found only one instance of it, reprinted by J. Korzeniowski [[Rozmowa Polaka z Litwinem](#), 1564 / Korzeniowski Józef. – Kraków: 1890 – 91 s].

Researchers believe that the author of "Talk" was [Augustine Rotundus](#) (1520 – 1582) – Vilna elder, and it was published in 1564.

For our topic are interest historical arguments, which operate in a conversation a Pole and a Lithuanian.

Further Lithuanian tells us most interesting: "Our old chronicles, written in Russian, indicate that P. Libo, whose mistake letters called Palemon, escaped from the cruelty of Nero, and from him place of our rulers" (p. 67). There is obvious source – "Fabulous emergence of Lithuania."

All that the "Conversation" goes beyond the known FEL, should be considered the author's own creativity.

It can be assumed that as a "Conversation" and Lit1L emerged both as answers (in various forms) a call by the Poles.

Product trend – the glorification of the Radziwill family.

Messenger of virtue (1574)

Brochure M. Strykowski "Messenger of virtue" ([Goniec cnoty](#)) was his first printed product (Krakow 1574). It had not been seen at one time, remained in the shadow of the capital "Chronicle", published in 1582. Later brochure was reprinted as an appendix to the publication of "Chronicle" 1846 [Strykowski M. Kronika polska, litewska, żmódzka i wszyskiej Rusi. – Warszawa: 1846, t. 2 [s. 467](#) – 558].

The brochure was published on the occasion of the election of Henry of Valois King of Poland.

The history of Lithuania is presented again sapphic verse. Here we see Palemon (p. 537), who sailed from Italy to Lithuania – running away from the Nero, then from Attila.

Further, the presentation follow "Erdivil" edition of FEL, to which belongs Lit1L, with some liberties in genealogy.

On further borrowing from Lit1L indicates the name *Nemir* in the description of the war of Vytautas with Basil Moscow (p. 550) and the description of tribute from Novgorod and Pskov (p. 551). The news that Vytautas broke *Perekop* Tatars (Which did not exist at his time) and *mankop* Tatars (which does not exist at all) – are the examples of author's invention.

The conclusion is simple: for writing the history of Lithuania Strykowski used Lit1L, filling it sometime from Polish chronicles. It really was the first printed book outlining the "Lithuanian" chronicle (something like the book S. Herberstein was first set out in the press Moscow chronicles).

The tendency of the product – the glorification of the Kishka kin, representatives of which the author says at every opportunity, even without the opportunity.

Epitome of Lithuanian princes (1576)

The work, entitled «Epitome principum Lituaniae» preserved in a single copy, placed as an introductory article to the Latin translation of the 2nd Lithuanian Statute. This richly decorated manuscript was written in 1576 and was intended for newly elected Polish King Stefan Batory. Epitome (ie reduction) provides a brief history of Lithuania from the beginning of time until King Stephan. It was published by J. Jakubowski [Jakubowski J. Studia nad stosunkami narodowościowymi na Litwie przez unię Lubelską. – Warszawa: E.Wende, 1912, s. 94 – 104].

According to the researchers believe it shows the expressive relationship with the work of Albert Rotundus "Conversation Pole with Lithuanian" (1564). Rotundus was also the author of the translation statute. For these reasons, Jakubowski considered "Epitome" another product Rotundus.

Here we see P. Libone, who mistakenly called Palemon, Emperor Nero, Attila, and reference to product Erasmus Stella.

So, for "Epitome" was used not only "Messenger of virtue", but also some kind of "Nemonos" edition "Fabulous emergence of Lithuania", as well as Polish chronicles. Any special dependency on "Conversation Pole with Lithuanian" cannot be found.

As every compiler, writer not only brings together the information of different authors, but also trying to understand them, and adds his own imagination to them.

Product trend – the glorification of the Radziwill Family (it is noteworthy that the text is completely fall out Goštautai!).

Description of European Sarmatia (1578)

Italian officer in the Polish service Alexander Guagnini (1538 – ca 1614) in 1578 published his "Description of European Sarmatia" [[Sarmatiae Europaeae Descriptio \[...\]](#) Alexandri Gwagnini. – [Kraków:] 1578. – different pagination]. This work was very popular, and in 1611 was reissued in Krakow translated by Martin Pashkovsky in Polish, with significant additions.

Juri Mytsyk exactly this edition 1611, translated into Ukrainian and published in 2007 [Alexander Guagnini Chronicle of European Sarmatia. – Kyiv: 2007. – 1006 p.]

Of course, we are interested in borrowing from the "Lithuanian" chronicles. They are as follows (table 27 rows).

We see that Alexander Guagnini took only Lit1L: march to Braslav and Polotsk (here – Episode 4) is mentioned only in Lit1L and nowhere else.

From the composition Lit1L used "Fabulous emergence of Lithuania", "Tale of Vytautas" and "Acts of Vytautas". For the later period, starting with episode 22 Alexander Guagnini used only Polish chronicles.

Dissatisfaction Strykowski concerned is the misuse of his unpublished manuscript (supposedly Polish translation Lit1L) in Alexander Guagnini work, and the latter in his defense might point to "Messenger of virtue" as to its source.

Strykowski Chronicle (1582)

"Chronicle Polish, Lithuanian, Samogitian and All Russia", written by Matthew Strykowski (1547 – 1586..1593) was [first published](#) in Königsberg in 1582. There was used usual for Polish editions Gothic script. It made a huge impact on all subsequent historiography. From the fables, introduced by Strykowski, history of the countries of Eastern Europe are not released until today, and it is not known, available to ever do.

In 1846, Nikolai Malinovsky in Warsaw made a reprint chronicle in 2 volumes ([volume 1](#). [volume 2](#)), which is much easier to read.

There is no scientific publication of the work up to date.

[Fabulous emergence of Lithuania](#)

[Events late 14 – 1 half 15 cent.](#)

[Tale of Vytautas](#)

[Historiography](#)

[Acts of Vytautas](#)

Conclusions

1. The primary source of the group "Lithuanian and Russian chronicles" appears in Strykowski was Lit1L, systematically used throughout the "Chronicle." This is not news, this fact had been established by Ignatius Danilovich [*J. Danilovich* About Lithuanian chronicles. – Journal of the Ministry of Education, 1840, number 11, Dep. 2, ch. 5: Bychowiec chronicle is the same as the chronicle of princes Zaslavsky, about what Strykowski talked] and before him – even I. Klimashevsky (1830), whose article went unnoticed. Our analysis confirms this first achievement in the field of study "Lithuanian" chronicles.

All attempts by many authors point out the differences in the annals used Strykowski from Lit1L are inconclusive.

2. In addition, one can quite clearly say on the use in the "Chronicle" Vit4L copy.

3. The third "Lithuanian" chronicle, which probably was used by Strykowski, determined less confident. There is no doubt that it belonged to a group derived from Lit0L. There is some reason to believe that it was Lit5L, but it still requires further study.

4. Any "Belarusian" chronicles Strykowski had not used. All the fragments that come from Bil0L – are among borrowings from Bil0L in "Vytautas" chronicle (apparently the same Vit4L).

5. Any Moscow chronicle Strykowski had not used. All references and citations of this kind are derived from S. Herberstein extracts of Moscow chronicles.

6. As the transition from the fabulous times to the historical ones part of information borrowed from the "Lithuanian" chronicles decreases, while the part of loans from Polish chronicles growing rapidly.

7. Strykowski not limited to a simple copying of fragments "Lithuanian" chronicles, he rearranges them according to his understanding, choosing often the smallest details that escaped from their natural context and fall into a new one. In addition, Strykowski not hesitate to complement this information own imagination works, sometimes quite skillfully stylized like "Lithuanian" chronicles. This fact excludes the possibility of reconstruction of lost places "Lithuanian" chronicles on the basis of the Strykowski text.

8. "Chronicle" Strykowski can not be used as a historical source – it can only be used to study the history of social thought and historiography (the history of historical thought), to determine the level of historical knowledge and techniques scripture stories 4th quarter of the 16th century.

9. "Chronicle" should be removed from the shelf "historical sources", where it was placed "an oversight and does not cope with the matter," and move on the shelf "fiction" – between the songs of Ossian-Macpherson, and the novel "Zakhar Berkut". As a fiction book, one can read the chronicle "with pleasure and not without moral."

Fabulous emergence of Lithuania

Let's see how Strykowski have used "Fabulous emergence of Lithuania" (everything that has no analogues in FEL, we simply skip in the table, that have 106 rows).

We see that overall Strykowski quite carefully followed Lit1L, only here and there rearranging scenes with his own thoughts, rejecting something, and most importantly – coming up with a lot of "new" details and brand new episodes, skillfully stylized like FEL (at least additional cities foundation) that "historians" rewrite in their labors without doubts.

Even the real details inserted in the fantastic (in general) stories, became fantastic, and here as the "old" and "new" details refers to the fiction.

Also we see the traces of copy "Fabulous emergence of Lithuania" of "Nemonos" group, but it is used poorly, almost in one episode. And this episode is – surprisingly – is identical with the same single episode in the "Conversation Pole with Lithuanian." Therefore, it is conceivable that Strykowski took the "Conversation" rather than a chronicle directly. However, other exotic constructions of "Conversation" Strykowski not used, and as a result of the small volume of borrowing, we can not firmly establish its source.

We also see small traces of copy Lit0L group (there are episodes that are available in these copies, but not in Lit1L). Did have Strykowski some other copies, except these two (three?) – at FEL material can not be decided.

Tale of Vytautas

Table contain 35 rows.

We see that the analysis of the TOV does not give us new indications chronicles used by the Strykowski, but gives a lot to the understanding of his method (e. g., a doubling of the history of the tree St. Cross!).

Acts of Vytautas

Let us now see what Strykowski borrowed from the "Acts of Vytautas". Table contain 32 rows.

The most important result of our observations – expressive traces of use Vit4L. This or a similar copy was available Strykowski (except Lit1L and some Lit0L copy). This is the third chronicle used by him.

Also we see that Strykowski trying to synchronize these news to the Polish chronicles, to bring together the news of Smolensk, to insert in its place in a chronological series of campaign Vytautas to Podillja. But with such a rearranging "Acts" are losing their most valuable feature – internal relative chronology, which can not replace other sources.

Events late 14 – 1 half 15 cent.

At 16 stories Strykowski used, except the Polish chronicles, only Lit1L.

Whether Strykowski used "Annals of King Sigismund?" Maybe it used, at least the list of prisoners in the battle of Orsha (2, 384) looked somewhat rearranged and spoiled the list that we saw in the AKS-1 (Lit7L) and AKS-2 (Lit5L, Lit6L).

The story of Barbara Radziwill (2, 401 – 403) looks reductions AKS-2, in particular, mention of libel on king (AKS-2, Episode 113 is available only in Lit5L). But AKS-2 in the form in which it has reached us, is a very late product, and could not be the source for Strykowski. This matter requires further study.

Historiography

Because studies of chronical sources of Strykowski has a certain tradition, I believe it appropriate to consider the respective works here, on the heels of its analysis.

The first who considered this topic was [I. Tikhomirov](#) (1901), which has not had a full set of chronicles texts. Therefore, his findings were preliminary.

Alexander Rogov (1966)

Rogov A. I. Russian-Polish cultural ties in the Renaissance: Strykowski and his "Chronicle". – Moscow: Nauka, 1966 – 310 p.

Overall Rogov had significant work on clarifying the sources Strykowski Chronicle, but his findings on "Lithuanian" chronicles, used by him, mostly wrong.

Nikolai Ulashchik (1985)

Ulashchik NN Introduction to the study of the Belarusian-Lithuanian chronicles. – M.: Nauka, 1985. – 262 p.

In general, this section makes a little positive in the study topic – constant references to Lit8L only confuse things.

The above analysis of using chronicles by Strykowski have denied most of the findings of previous researchs, and therefore was not superfluous. The final clarification of this issue requires a full parsing "Chronicles" into components, it is a task for future research.

Lithuanian and Zhmoit chronicle (1588)

In the foregoing analysis of "Lithuanian" chronicles we have not mentioned and not used Lit8L, and now it's time to talk about it. After reading "Chronicle" Strykowski turned out that there is no lot of talk to: Lit8L – very bad abridged Russian translation of the Chronicle.

6. A single large insertion in text Strykowski – is "Tale of Mamai battle" (p. 45 – 60) in his very late and worst "Algirdas" edition [PSRL, 1959, vol. 26, p. 328 – 341; and a separate copy [RNL Q.IV.22](#)]. But Lit8L author was not enough of those absurdities that introduced in this edition – a battle he dated 1371 year. It is necessary that something of his own to make!

8. Thus, in Lit8L did not used any "Lithuanian" chronicle, but only Strykowski. In accordance with this and observations made above – the value of this product we can define as negligible "historical source", which is also devoid of artistic talent Strykowski. Overall decline of the tradition of "Lithuanian" chronicles can not be shown the better. No wonder that go with such a "commodity" against Strykowski was impossible, and it is natural that Lit8L had no effect on subsequent historiography.

Chronicle J. Bielski (1597)

I'm not going to write this section, but I was confused "historians". At Sushicki I read: "Tikhomirov established that M. Bielski much more enjoyed the Lithuanian chronicles, borrowing from them more than 40 news" [*Sushicki T. Western-Russian chronicles as a literary monuments. – Kyiv: 1930, p. 33*].

Look Tikhomirov: "Speaking of Paraskeva death, Bielski again refers to the Russian chronicles (Bel, 1, 256)." [*Tikhomirov I. A. About composition of the west Russian, so-called Lithuanian chronicles. – Journal of the Ministry of Education, 1901, № 5, p. 81*].

What's the occasion, I think. I thought I knew all about the "Lithuanian" chronicles, and then they wrote me that I only know that I know nothing.

Thus, the source for news Joachim (not Martin!) Bielski was Strykowski, and the above-mentioned "scientists" simply regarded Joachim and Martin as one man.

Conclusion: now I know just what everyone else does not know nothing on my subject.

Gustynsky chronicle (1620-ies)

Gustynsky chronicle – compilatory historical work, written in the Ukraine in the 17th century. With its naming, we have the same problem as the "Lithuanian" chronicles – in one manuscript collection contains GL1 – the general annals from ancient times to 1597, and GL2 – local annals of Gustynja monastery in 17 cent. Both were published in 2003 [PSRL, vol. 40, p. 7 – 152, 153 – 169, respectively].

Today, we are interested in GL1. We do not aim to dismantle it on the screws, as was done with Bil0L – we just point out borrowing from LitL.

General frame for GL1 time of creation – from 1622 to 1670 years, but considering that Lositsky had already defective protograph, time of its formation should be put near the begin of the interval outlined. Conventionally, in view of these observations, we assume GL1 product of the 1620s.

Comparative table contains 40 rows.

The results of our observations can be summed as follows:

1. From the total stock of information that had "Lithuanian" chronicles in GL1 included only FEL; besides borrowing or duplicating FEL, or are random.
2. The author GL1 did not have and did not use any "Lithuanian" chronicles. Instead, he used the works of Alexander Guagnini-Pashkovsky (1611) and Strykowski (1582), combining their notes, reducing the story and adding here and there own fantasies. Criticisms, available in both sources, was not interested for GL1 author.

This list of compilations of works dependent Alexander Guagnini and Strykowski not exhausted – it can be extended with chronicle F. Sofonovich (1673), and "Scythian history" by A. Lyzlov (1692), as well as "historical" works F. M. Shabuldo and B. V. Cherkas.

However, having considered the three works that arose after Strykowski, we found that they are no longer any trace of the direct use of "Lithuanian" chronicles, and therefore these products are no longer of interest to the study of the latter.

Impact on neighbors

Considering the traces of "Lithuanian" chronicles the later works on the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, we discover the influence of this chronicle from the Great-Russian and Polish works. It is naturally ask the question – whether does the reverse effect of "Lithuanian" chronicles in the Russian and Polish annals exist?

[Moscow-Tver chronicle \(1411\)](#)

[Sophia 1st chronicle older recension \(1418\)](#)

[Dlugosz chronicle \(1470s\)](#)

[Novgorod Dubrovsky chronicle \(1539\)](#)

Conclusions

Searching traces of the "Lithuanian" chronicles in the historiography of the neighboring countries, we have seen that only "Tale of Vytautas" left quite clearly impact. There were no traces of other parts "Vytautas" chronicle, just as there is no trace of the "Belarusian" chronicles – they exist only in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and never go beyond it.

Also one can not see the impact "Lithuanian" chronicles on their neighbors, in particular, its most characteristic part – "Fabulous emergence of Lithuania." There may be a natural explanation for a relatively late appearance of this type of texts. In the 1560s the efforts of Ivan the Terrible Moscow chronicle writing had been destroyed, and there was simply no one had an interest in the works of their Lithuanian contemporaries. For the Polish historiography insurmountable barrier was Russian language chronicles, so interest in the subject met the Latin work of Alexander Guagnini and Polish – Strykowski.

Moscow-Tver chronicle (1411)

The first product, where chronicles the Grand Duchy of Lithuania had been reflected, stands the Moscow-Tver chronicle (MTL, 1411).

This chronicle is preserved in two almost identical copies as part Rogozhsky chronicle (PSRL, 15) and Simeon chronicle (PSRL, 18). It covers events from 1375 to 1411 with a characteristic mechanical loss of the text in 1403 – 1408 years.

1. In 1377, on the occasion of the death of Algirdas in MTL placed a brief story about the events in Lithuania, which shows a clear dependence on the TOV.

Therefore, we can assume that the copy of TOV was received in Moscow very soon, possibly during Prince Vasily Dmitrievich meetings with Vytautas in Smolensk in 1390-ies, and immediately found a certain reflection of the Moscow chronicle.

In Novgorod did not know anything on TOV, in the death of Algirdas in N1LMI mentioned in one sentence.

Sophia 1st chronicle older recension (1418)

1. The following chronicles Moscow – Sophia 1st chronicles older recension (S1LSI, 1418) record in 1377 on the events in Lithuania is an abbreviation of MTL record.

2. But the story of the battle of Mstislavl (here it is dated 6894 / 1386 year) contains a very expressive traces of TOV, which we have not seen in MTL.

There are no more traces of "Vytautas" chronicle in further text S1LSI – on the contrary, some of the episodes of the Vytautas reign were borrowed in VitL from S1LSI (through mediation Bil0L), in particular, the story of the battle of the Vorskla river. Yet S1LSI confirms our assumption that the early copy of TOV was in Moscow and there it was read and used by interested people.

Dlugosz chronicle (1470s)

Famous Polish chronicler Jan Dlugosz (1415 – 1480) in his chronicle used Vit2L. This is not any news, it still have pointed out by Anthony Prochaska, who discovered and the first to publish Vit2L [*Prochaska A. Przekład ruskiego latopisca ks. Litewskiego na język łaciński. – Kwartalnik historyczny, 1888, r. 2, № 2, s. 196 – 197*].

Recall that Vit2L – an abbreviated Latin translation of the TOV, driven to the death of Keistut and Vytautas escape to the Germans. Dlugosz placed it in one piece for the year 1382 [*Jana Długosza Roczniki czyli kroniki sławnego królestwa Polskiego. – Warszawa: 2009, ks. 10 1370 – 1405, s. 122 – 134*]. Dlugosz did not know the year of Algirdas death (there is no mention of this event, simply after 1377 Algirdas disappears from the pages of the chronicle), but he knew a year Keistut death. Dlugosz also supplemented his story lists sons Algirdas and Keistut, which were not in Vit2L.

In further text of Dlugosz there were no traces of VitL . All the events, which is mentioned in both works, covered in Dlugosz differently than in VitL. Therefore, we can say with confidence that Dlugosz had only Vit2L, and nothing more.

Miechowski, Decius, Wapowski, Cromer – the question of whether later Polish chroniclers used the VitL I leave open, because already my job stretched to infinity.

Novgorod Dubrovsky chronicle (1539)

Chronicle, published in 2004 under the misleading title "Novgorod Dubrovsky chronicle" (NLD) [*PSRL, vol. 43*] – was not written by a collector P. P. Dubrovsky (1754 – 1816), but by unknown scribe of the circle of Novgorod Archbishop Makarios (in the future – the Moscow Metropolitan). At the core lies N4L chronicle, the most valuable part of it is a records for the 16 cent. The last event in the chronicles was in 1539.

8. Another article titled "Beginning of the Lithuanian kin" given on p. 265 – 269. It is nothing more than a copy of "Tale of Vytautas" rewritten accurately enough and without additional fantasy, except that some erratums.

It is important for our topic more: this copy confirms my assumption that the "Tale of Vytautas" was common as a separate product. NLD copy ends just at the place where, according to my reasons, ended TOV. (The reader may be interested to know that I have identified TOV independently only on the basis of the "Lithuanian" chronicles; NLD copy used much later).

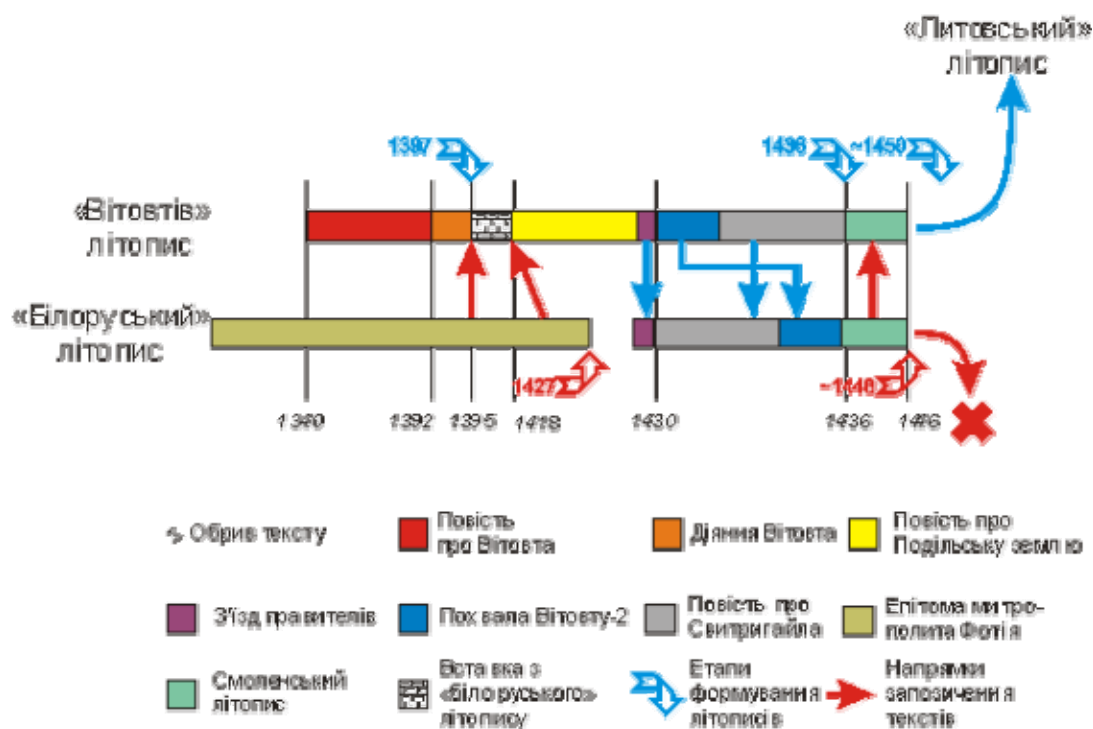
This, in turn, gives hope to find other autonomous copies of TOV. Thus, the publishers of the NLD said that there are 3 article collections that are similar in composition to the articles at the NLD (p. 6). I have not had the opportunity delved down, if they contain a TOV.

Conclusions

1. The development of chronicles in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania can be represented in the following chronological table (yellow background highlight rewriting preserved texts):

No	Date	Event
1	2 half 1389	"Memorial of Vytautas" had been written, apparently in Marienburg, presented by the Master of the Teutonic Order. Its author conventionally call "the first Lithuanian scribe"
2	2 half 1392	"Tale of Vytautas" had been written, apparently in Vilnius, the author – "the first Lithuanian scribe"
3	1393 – 1397	"Acts of Vytautas" had been written, apparently in Vilnius, the author – "the first Lithuanian scribe"
4	1410	Metropolitan Photios arrived in Moscow, and "the scribe Metropolitan Photios" began recording his deeds
5	1425 – 1427	"The scribe of Metropolitan Photius" in Moscow was condensed chronicle – "Epitome Metropolitan Photios"
6	1428	The first edition of "Praise of Vytautas" had been written, the author – "the second Lithuanian scribe"
7	the end of the 1430 – 1431	"Story about the congress rulers", the second edition of "Praise of Vytautas", "Tale of Podillja land" had been written, apparently in Vilnius, the author – "the second Lithuanian scribe." He also made insert about Skirgaila death in "Acts of Vytautas"
8	1436	"Tale of Švitrigaila" had been written, the author – "the second Lithuanian scribe"
9	1438 – 1446	"Smolensk chronicle" had been written, apparently in Smolensk, the author – "Belarusian scribe"
10	about 1446	"Belarusian scribe" united "Epitome Metropolitan Photius", "Story about the congress rulers", "Praise of Vytautas" (2 ed.), "Tale of Švitrigaila" and his "Smolensk chronicle" in protograph "Belarusian chronicle" (Bil0L)
11	after 1446, probably around 1450	"The second Lithuanian scribe" united all the articles written by him and "the first Lithuanian scribe", added to them fragments from Bil0L (events of 1395 – 1418 and abbreviated "Smolensk chronicle") in the full edition of "Vytautas chronicle" (similar Vit4L)
12	1470-ies	A Latin translation of the initial part of the "Tale of Vytautas" (Vit2L) was made, used by J. Długosz in his chronicle
13	the end of the 15th century	Copy Vit2L inscribed in the Crown Metrica, a part of which has preserved to our time
14	roughly, the end of the 15th	Created Vit6L copy, in which the "Story about the congress rulers" and "Praise of Vytautas" (2 ed.) are combined in the third edition

	century	of "Praise of Vytautas"
15	the end of the 15th century	Rewritten Vilna copy (Vit1L), which came to us
16	15 cent.	Rewritten Nikiforov's copy (Bil1L), which came to us
17	between 1519 and 1539	"Third Lithuanian scribe" wrote "Fabulous emergence of Lithuania" ("Erdivil" edition) and edited Vit6L. This was protograph "Lithuanian chronicle" (Lit0L)
18	1520	Rewritten Suprasl copy (Bil2L + Vit3L), which came to us
19	1520-30-ies	Rewritten Slutsk list (Vit4L + Bil3L), which came to us
20	1526 – 30	The abbreviated copy of "Vytautas chronicle" (Vit7L) had been written in Moscow, which came to us
21	1530-40-ies	Rewritten Academic copy (Bil4L + Vit5L), which came to us
22	1540-ies	Additional articles to the Novgorod Dubrovsky chronicle was formed, among them – the copy of "Tale of Vytautas", which came to us
23	1540-ies	On the basis of "Erdivil" edition had been established "Nemonos" edition "Fabulous emergence of Lithuania"
24	1540-ies	"Short chronicle Lithuania" had been written
25	1545	The first edition of "Annals of King Sigismund" had been written
26	1550	Olszewski copy (Lit4L) was translated into Polish and rewritten, which came to us
27	1560-ies	Lit1L (Bychowiec chronicle) had been written
28	16 cent. (roughly, end)	The copy of the Archaeological Society (Lit2L) was rewritten, which came to us
29	16 cent. (roughly, end)	Krasinski copy (Lit3L + Vit6L) was rewritten, which came to us
30	16 cent. (roughly, end)	Raczynski copy (Lit5L) was rewritten, which came to us
31	after 1597, possibly in the early 17th century	The second edition of "Annals of King Sigismund" was completed
32	1690	Evreinov's copy (Lit6L) was rewritten, which came to us
33	the end of the 17th century	Rumiantsev's copy (Lit7L) was rewritten, which came to us
34	17.	Copy Lit1L (Bychowiec chronicle) was transliterated into the Latin alphabet and rewritten, which published by T. Narbutt



*Interaction of the two traditions chronicles
of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*

2. "Vytautas" chronicle passed three stages of formation: the end of the 14th century, 1430-ies years and the middle of the 15th century. After the mid-15th century it is no longer replenished with new materials, and only experienced a few editorial changes.

3. "Belarusian" chronicle was created in Smolensk during the 1430-40-ies on the basis of "Epitome of Metropolitan Photius", that had been written in Moscow and brought to 1427. This epitome is often, but mistakenly called "all-Russian" chronicle, whereas its material is purely Moscow.

In the next time, "Belarusian" chronicle only was rewritten, but not replenished with new material. During the 16th century we have a number of cases of "invasion" Great-Russian chronicles in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (in particular, we have already slightly touched Bil5L and Bil6L), but these facts do not constitute an independent line of development.

4. In 1430-40-ies "Vytautas" and "Belarusian" chronicles mutually enriched by articles written for one chronicle, and copied to another.

5. In 1520-30-ies the Vit6L copy was replenished: in front was added the article "Fabulous emergence of Lithuania"; the manuscript of this composition (Lit0L) became the basis for the "Lithuanian" chronicles.

6. In the 1560-ies Lit1L (Bychowiec chronicle) had been written, based on Lit0L and Vit4L. It was last work "Lithuanian" chronicle tradition, which features a large number of borrowings from other sources (including printed) and independent fantasies.

7. Style "Belarusian" chronicles – annual articles within which tells about unrelated events – is very different from the style of "Lithuanian" chronicles, in which there are no annual articles and any chronological designations at all, and the text is created from the individual tales, some of which are not even intended for the chronicle.

8. A characteristic feature of the work in question is the independent development of most of the articles. Therefore, it is impossible to obtain an overall stemma for those

manuscripts. These manuscripts were formed of articles from various origins. This suggests that at least some of the articles at one time was common in separate copies (notebooks).

9. In terms of content, "Lithuanian" chronicles gone from actual chronicle genre (the collection of reliable information about the past) to the historical genre (a collection of interesting, exciting stories, perhaps with an educational value). The growth of art, fiction element denies all the source value for all works written in the 16th century. (With the small exception of current events records). But the works written in the late 14th – 1st half 15 cent., have a high source cost.

10. There was no own tradition kept in the "Lithuanian" chronicle about Gediminas (except the bare name) and Algirdas (except the episode plot against Jaunutis). All the stories about them – borrowing from Polish chronicles or pure fantasy. Even the deeds of Vytautas in 1397 – 1428 years did not form their own accounts in Lithuania and this gap had been filled with data from the Great-Russian and Polish sources.

11. Two traditions chronicles in the shortest review:

Index	"Belo-russian" chronicle	"Vytautas" chronicle	"Lithu-anian" chronicle (without AKS)	"Annals of King Sigismund"	"Short chronicle Lithuania"
Annual articles	+	–	–	+	+
Great tales	–	+	+	–	–
The story began with	Rurik	Gediminas	Palemon	–	Jagiello
Dependence on the Great-Russian chronicles	+	–	–	–	–
Dependence on the Polish chronicles	–	–	+	+	–

Recommendations

Since the study has the character of source study, we must always remember that a source studies is an auxiliary historical discipline. And now, when a final conclusions are made, it is time to ask – to whom what help may be on the job.

1. The greatest benefit may have historians, dealing with the reconstruction of historical events. They should guide by the following table the most authoritative texts:

Period	Article	Best text	The degree of reliability, informativeness
1340 – 1392	Tale of Vytautas	Vit1L	high
1392 – 1397	Acts of Vytautas	Vit1L + Vit3L	high
4 qtr. 14 cent. – 1430-ies	Tale of Podillja land	Vit3L + Vit4L + Vit6L	Fantasy and recalls in the initial part, the significant value from the time of Vytautas
1430	The story about the congress rulers	Vit4L	low
	Praise of Vytautas (2 ed.)	Vit4L	low
1432 – 1436	Tale of Švitrigaila	Vit4L	high
1410 – 1427	Chronicle Metropolitan Photius	Bil1L + Bil2L + Bil3L + Bil4L	high
1432 – 1446	Smolensk chronicle	Bil2L + Bil4L	high
	Praise of Vytautas (3 ed.)	Vit6L	no
	Fabulous emergence of Lithuania	Lit2L, Lit4L	no
	Tale of Algirdas march on Moscow	Lit6L	no
	Remaking "Lithuanian" chronicle	Lit1L	no
1514	Annals of King Sigismund (1 ed.)	Lit7L	high
1482 – 1548	Annals of King Sigismund (2 ed.)	Lit5L + Lit6L	No up to early 16 cent., high for the 1st half 16 cent.
1307 – 1536	Short chronicle Lithuania	Lit4L + Lit7L	No up to early 16 cent., high for the 1st half 16 cent.

Using these texts, one should remember that in any case we does not have autographs, but only later copies. These copies, as our experience shows, quickly deteriorate as we move from the stemma apex to its final copies. Therefore, we can be

sure that the texts that are at the top, have gaps and other defects too, but they are difficult to notice for us.

We did not meet any case, that later copy was systematically better than early one; therefore one should not use more recent copies, to avoid their individual errors be historical facts.

2. For the literary historian, historian of public opinion and historiograph help from this work is in establishment stemma of each article. Once again – any copy the examined chronicles was not derived from the other, each has an individual layout, retaining only a general scheme. Therefore it is impossible to make general stemma preserved copies, but only stemma individual articles.

3. A significant help to anyone who is interested in these chronicles, have establishment the origin of each of the episodes, as well as each of their words (where there is an individual errors). This makes it possible to separate the original recordings in annals and the borrowing from other sources, that it contains a lot. These loans do not have a source value for the historian (he must apply to the original sources), but they are of interest to determine the range of expertise chroniclers.

4. The general recommendation for historians – not to use such works filled with fantasies as "Short chronicle Lithuania", Lit1L ("Bychowiec chronicle") and Chronicle M. Strykowski.

5. The task of historical science is to write a relevant part of the history of Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine from scratch, based on the sources of contemporary events, and without the use of inventions of 16 cent.

Historiography

And now, when the studies are completed and the origin of each episode in the each annals found out – now with height of achieved understanding we can look at what is written predecessors. Special attention will be paid to their errors – for the following readers are not followed them.

It is not my purpose to consider **all** books, all the articles, all the reviews and all the passing mention – I'm going to confine myself to monographs and articles specifically dedicated to "Lithuanian" chronicles. Other works will be dealt with very selective.

[Period of germs \(up to 1907\)](#)

[Period of flowers \(1907 – 1940\)](#)

[Period of vegetables \(1969 – 1985\)](#)

[Period of withered leaves \(after 1985\)](#)

Conclusions

1. Although a full set of texts needed for the study was published in 1907, still none of the researchers introduced a rational classification of texts and have not seen in these chronicles **two** Independent traditions.

2. Greatly exaggerates the role of Smolensk in chronicle writing 15 cent., but was ignored or belittled the role of Vilna.

3. Considerable attention was paid by the researchers to scholastic question authors chronicles – it can not be resolved positively due to lack of guidance in the texts.

4. A significant disadvantage (especially in the last century works) is ignoring or inadequate involvement of the Polish historical works of the 16th century, which were used by the authors of the 16th century in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

5. Therefore, I can assume that my work is relevant and represents a new (rational) clarification of the subject coverage.

Period of germs (up to 1907)

Period of germs (ie accumulation of raw material) has started from publishing the "Chronicles" M. Strykowski in 1582 and lasted until 1907, when S. Ptashitsky published the 17th volume of "Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles" with an almost complete collection of chronicles texts of the Great Duchy of Lithuania.

Therefore, scientists who have worked in this period, for objective reasons can not come to certain final conclusions – at their disposal has not been all the necessary material. Evaluate their efforts as a whole should be condescending, but erroneous propositions put forward by them do not cease to be wrong on this case.

The author of the theory that the Earth is shaped hat, of course, made a step forward compared with the theory that the Earth is shaped like a pancake, but the hat theory itself erroneous.

In the reporting period, as in every period of growth of anything, one can distinguish a "storm and stress period." So for the annals of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was the 2nd half of the 19th century, when new copies were frequently discovered and published. This thread has become exhausted in the early 20th cent., and it was the base for edition the collection of chronicles, which became an edge of the new stage.

[Ignatius Danilovich \(1840\)](#)

[Anthony Prochaska \(1890\)](#)

[Isidore Sharanevich \(1882\)](#)

[Ivan Tikhomirov \(1890\)](#)

[Stanislav Smolka \(1889\)](#)

[Boris Vakhevich \(1902\)](#)

Conclusions

1. The objective obstacle that faced by researchers in this period, there was a small number of identified and published texts. All authors had rightly complained about this, all expressed the wish that the number of texts increased.
2. Speaking of the "Lithuanian chronicle," the authors mostly mean VitL, but nobody was able to say this definitely. About "Belarusian" (in my sense of the term) chronicles they wrote only in general, erroneous "sewing" them to the texts of VitL. This lack of clarity of the subject study caused dramatic impact on the conclusions of the authors.
3. All the authors failed to apply the correct division VitL into separate tales, and therefore could not figure out the dependence of VitL copies.
4. Authors under consideration immensely exaggerating the role of Smolensk and Metropolitan Gerasim in shaping chronicle.
5. A lot of attention was paid to Lit1L, but no one paid any attention to borrowing from Polish chronicles.
6. In general, despite the presence of a certain number of true observations, all the works of this period shows the primordial chaos, in which the correct positions are rare inclusions in a lot of false. There was very little hope that an evolutionary way, by rectifying works and discarding errors, one will be able to come to a more rational view.

A fairly detailed overview of the less significant literature of this period presented in the book F. Sushicki (1930), to which one should consult for further instructions.

Ignatius Danilovich (1840)

I. Danilovich About Lithuanian chronicles. – Journal of the Ministry of Education, 1840, number 11, Dep. 2, p. 70 – 114.

The first significant article on our subject belongs Ignatius Nikolayevich Danilovich (1787 – 1843), who is credited with the discovery and publication of the Suprasl copy (Bil2L + Vit3L).

Thus, the main merit of Danilovich – that he, without having the full text of Lit1L, surely saw in it a source of Strykowski.

Isidore Sharanevich (1882)

Szaraniewicz I. O latopisach i kronikach ruskich 16 i 17 w., a zwłaszcza o latopisie "Wielkiego kniaźstwa Litowskiego i Żemojtskiego". – Rozprawy i sprawozdania z posiedzeń wydziału historyczno-filozoficznego Akademii umiejętności (Kraków), 1882, t. 15, s. 351 – 413.

The main merit of I. Sharanevich was information about Lit5L and its difference from Lit1L. But he erroneously presented their correlation (Lit5L as reducing Lit1L).

Stanislav Smolka (1889)

Smolka S. [Najdawniejsze pomniki](#) dziejopisarstwa rusko-litewskiego. – Pamiętnik wydziału historyczno-filozoficznego Akademii umiejętności (Kraków), 1889, t. 8, s. 1 – 55.

In general, the value of the work Smolka was to attract new works – MemV and Vit2L and establishing their connection with texts that were known previously. The main

drawback of his work – is limitless inflation of role Smolensk in the formation of the text under consideration.

Anthony Prochaska (1890)

Prochaska A. [Latopis litewski](#): rozbiór krytyczny. – Lw.: 1890.–58 s.

We see in Prochaska article a number of the faithful, from our point of view, opinions and assumptions, but they are greatly diluted the provisions manifestly erroneous. To distinguish right from wrong, I had to do all the work on the text from beginning to end, regardless. Therefore, I believe that the work of Prochaska has not made nothing positive in the study of the subject.

Ivan Tikhomirov (1890)

Tikhomirov I. A. Two Polish works on West Russian chronicles. – Journal of the Ministry of Education, 1891, № 2, p. 387 – 412. [Review articles I. Sharanevich and S. Smolka.]

Tikhomirov I. A. Review article A. Prochaska. – Journal of the Ministry of Education, 1893, № 5, p. 253 – 266.

Tikhomirov I. A. On the composition of the west Russian, the so-called Lithuanian chronicles. – Journal of the Ministry of Education, 1901, № 3, p. 1 – 36; № 5, p. 70 – 119.

The value of the Tikhomirov works, in my opinion, was to support the interest in the topic in Russian science and to bring to the analysis some new manuscripts. His articles was not made significant progress; several times he took place in the vicinity of the discovery, and they never did.

Boris Vakhevich (1902)

He managed to print only one work – text Lit7L with his small article [West Rus' chronicle by the copy of the Rumyantsev Museum. – Proceedings of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities, 1902, vol. 24, p. 214 – 224].

One can only regret that he died with only 31 years, but if he continued his work, he were stood in front of challenge – how to overcome the erroneous classification, proposed by himself...

Period of flowers (1907 – 1940)

Period of flowers came with the publication in 1907 of the 17th volume of "Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles", in which S. L. Ptashitsky and A. A. Shakhmatov carefully collected almost all the texts that have been known at the time. Over the next 110 years added only publication Vit7L (G. Bugoslavsky 1911), and other manuscripts has not yet been published.

Therefore, we can assume that this year the source base of research has been formed, and each author, who became interested in our topic, have the same opportunity to write a comprehensive work, as I do.

Let's see how the authors of the period benefited from the new features.

[Alex Shakhmatov \(1909\)](#)

[Teoctist Sushicki \(1919\)](#)

[Anthony Prochaska \(1911\)](#)

[Michael Priselkov \(1940\)](#)

[Jan Jakubowski \(1912\)](#)

Conclusions

1. Evaluation the works of this and subsequent periods must be much stricter, as all the authors could make those correct observation, which I did, and if them did not – they only themselves to blame.
2. The uniqueness of this period was the simultaneous activity of three research centers – in St. Petersburg-Petrograd-Leningrad, Kiev and Warsaw. The Bolshevik revolution and the subsequent systematic destruction of a culture strongly prevented the interaction of these centers, they worked almost independently.
3. The greatest achievement of this period was the establishment of Simeon and Sophia 1st chronicles as sources of "Epitome Metropolitan Photius."
4. The biggest drawback of this period was a false classification of texts (inherited from predecessors), which disallowed to see the two traditions in the chronicle of the Great Duchy of Lithuania, and put forward question their cooperation.

Alex Shakhmatov (1909)

Shakhmatov A. A. Review of Russian chronicles 14 – 16 centuries. – M.: 1938 – 372 p.

Shakhmatov interested in the chronicles of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to the extent that they affected the Moscow chronicles. He owns the right observations on the composition of sources and their boundaries in the EMF, in particular, references to SimL and S1LSI. Within the set of thematic restrictions, it was significant progress. But these observations was inserted in his general scheme of development of the Moscow chronicles, which contains a lot of groundless and rejected as a whole.

Anthony Prochaska (1911)

Prochaska A. [Z powodu wydawnictwa latopisów litewskich](#). – Przegląd historyczny, 1911, t. 12, s. 115 – 125.

Prochaska, limiting review of the new corpus of texts and appreciate it high, did not saw any new research opportunities, and believed that the new texts only confirm his concept, put forward earlier.

Jan Jakubowski (1912)

Jakubowski J. [Studia nad stosunkami](#) narodowościowymi na Litwie przez unię Lubelską. – Warszawa : E.Wende, 1912. – 4, 104 s.

The main merit of J. Jakubowski in this work is the publication of "Epitome of Lithuanian princes", which I have already [touched on](#).

Teoctist Sushicki (1919)

Sushicki T. Western-Russian chronicles as a literary monuments. – Kyiv: 1930 – 404 p.

Thus, in general, the book F. Sushicki quite weak. The root of his error – incorrect classification of texts, inherited from the previous researchers. Author has not shown adequate courage to discard the previous works and do it all himself. He did not use all the resources necessary to determine the history of texts. Some right conclusions obtained in the analysis, demanded a radical revision of the entire structure of whole sections, but such restructuring was nowhere be performed. Therefore, the mass of correct observations and interesting indications is not shown in the system.

Michael Priselkov (1940)

Priselkov M. D. The history of Russian chronicles. – Spb.: Dmitry Bulanin, 1996. – 325 p. (Reprint of 1940)

The general impression is that Priselkov simply cut and polished the appropriate section from Shakhmatov, adapting it to his own ideas about the development of the Great Russian chronicles.

Considering chosen slice Priselkov creativity, we have repeat the words of the classics: "Go see a man with a prematurely. there are no such people, and soon will absolutely not." Everything he did – he did in spite of the expressive request of the Soviet government to destroy all traces of "previous time" to the scratch. Priselkov died before the age of 60 years, and was not able to realize his potential investigator – in this he repeated the fate and Sushicki and Shakhmatov.

Period of vegetables (1969 – 1985)

Systematic terror, the Bolsheviks (or "Russian") still achieved their goal – the whole country plunged into barbarism, which is still ongoing, until 31 October 2016, when I write these lines. All scientific traditions were interrupted, and instead of people of culture to manage a science came pigs.

Therefore, the period of vegetables, ie the formation of the final concepts, which give a complete picture of the subject, was very weak and looked like a new period of germs.

[Vyacheslav Chemeritsky \(1969\)](#)

[Nikolai Ulashchik \(1985\)](#)

Conclusions

What vegetables we are able to collect from under the Bolshevik snow?

1. The most important works of this period belong to the Belarusian researchers that can rejoice. A number of articles published by Lithuanian researchers, but their legacy remains little known to us of the language barrier, it is not clear how help this.

2. It was published Russian (1966) and Lithuanian (1971), translations "Bychowiec chronicle" (Lit1L) with the comments – this are the first commented editions considered chronicles. A number of articles has been devoted to this product, that contain a lot of subjective, mutually negating provisions.

3. The most important achievement is the classification of the texts proposed by V. Chemeritsky, but it is still far from being natural, because "the first collection" mixed products of two different traditions. That is, in this period, as in the previous year, no one took advantage of the benefits of owning a complete set of texts for the establishment of a rational classification.

Vyacheslav Chemeritsky (1969)

Chemeritsky V. A. Belarus chronicles as literary monuments. – Minsk: 1969. – 190 p.

In general, the book Chemeritsky did not brought a breakthrough in the study of the chronicles of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The author had a much better opportunity to make a number of discoveries, but passed them, too trusting the conclusions of previous researchers. It is possible to regret missed opportunities, but in science matters only positive fact.

Nikolai Ulashchik (1985)

Ulashchik N. N. Introduction to the study of the Belarusian-Lithuanian chronicles. – Moscow: Nauka, 1985. – 262 p.

Just like the book Chemeritsky, it must be said that the book Ulashchik did not made revolution in the study of the chronicles of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – that coup, for which the material has been accumulated and were just waiting for an impartial analysis.

Period of withered leaves (after 1985)

One may have the hope that the fall of the communist Russian oppression, gaining independence and freedom of speech revive research our theme too. But it turned out that kerosene researchers ended on the book Ulashchik (1985) and there is no monograph on the subject have been published over the next 30 years.

However, Victoria Sergienko pointed me to a book by Jan Jurkevich [*Jurkiewicz J.* Od Palemona do Giedymina. Wczesnonowożytnie wyobrażenia o początkach Litwy. Wczesnonowożytnie wyobrażenia o początkach Litwy. Część 1. W kręgu latopisów litewskich. – Poznań: UAM, 2013. – 324 s]. Because the trouble is that there are no signs of its real existence, except [one page](#) at **one** web store. It is said also true: if you are not on the Web – you do not exist at all. But perhaps, no one said the author what millennium we have in the yard...

No one said this Mieczysław Juchas too, whose book [*Lietuvos metraščiai ir kronikos.* – Vilnius, 2002] also represented only [one page](#) in one web store. Even if it was freely available and not sold for 8 euros, and then would be a problem – how to read Lithuanian text...

The next portion of withered leaves gave the Lithuanian researcher Nadezhda Morozova, who published several articles about the chronicles and made on this topic her PhD [*Morozova* Questions of language and textual chronicles the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: Bychowiec Chronicle. – Vilnius, diss... Dr. humanity. Science 2001]. But her [personal page](#) on the website of the Lithuanian Institute of History contain only work titles – that is faded, unusable leaves in the full sense.

And also on [personal page](#) Lithuanian scientist Kestutis Gudmantas one can see a list of his articles 2003 – 2013, part of which is devoted to our chronicles (but no full texts).

Popular book "[Belarusian chronicles](#)" [Minsk, MF "Belarusian knigazbor", 1997] appeared in 1997. It contains some chronicle texts translated into Belarusian language, adapted for reading by untrained people. This is certainly an important step for the promotion of historical sources.

According to my principle should be considered **the most important** articles, but such articles that have treated the subject as a whole, does not appear, although published many articles on specific topics. Therefore it is necessary to consider the articles in which the authors have taken care to put them on the Web.

[Elena Rusina \(1993 – 98\)](#) [Juri Mikulski \(2010\)](#)

[Albina Semyanchuk \(2000\)](#) [Catherine Kirichenko \(2006 – 14\)](#)

Conclusions

1. In the period under review authors were mainly involved in sweeping up withered leaves, that is a separate themes, insufficiently developed in the previous periods. There were no new works in which the subject would be considered as a whole.
2. It is gratifying that the articles began to appear, which can be completely or mostly agree, not contravene.
3. Geography research centers marked by a revival of the Kiev city center, but slightly decreased the activity of Belarusian researchers.
4. An important sign of progress is the variety of genres of works on the subject. During this period, one see the first appearance of such genres as a popular book for the general reader and textbook for university students.
5. I draw the attention of their contemporaries colleagues on the need to publish the results of their research. "Publications" in the 21st century can only be regarded as placing the product on the Web in free access. Copyright protects your product from external interference, and if you do not place them on the Web – in the next 150 years, no one will not do this. Was value in this case to write them?

Elena Rusina (1993 – 98)

Rusina E. The legend of Gediminas march to Russia assessed by V. B. Antonovych and later historiography. – "Academy memory of Professor Vladimir Antonovich," K., 1994, p. 93 – 99.

Rusina E. V. Ukraine under Tatars and Lithuania. – K.: Alternative, 1998 – 318 p. – Series "Ukraine through the Ages", Vol. 6.

Although Rusina articles dedicated only to a small private matter, they are important in several respects.

Firstly, we can fully agree with these articles, they do not have any provisions to which I would like to argue. That is, we can assume that this story is completely polished.

Secondly, the article marks the revival of the Kiev research center for chronicles the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which had fallen into disrepair after Sushicki.

Thirdly, it is nice to note that the Rusin became the first woman who wrote to our subject, and has shown that our women should be taken seriously. If they take up a science – you get it is science, not its imitation.

Albina Semyanchuk (2000)

... And that's the last day of work on my product – November 10, 2016 – when I was already thinking that I wrote everything I wanted, and it's time to move on to edit the written – I fell into the hands of Albina Semyanchuk book!

Semyanchuk A. A. Belarusian-Lithuanian annals and Polish chronicles. – Grodno: Grodno state university named Janka Kupala, 2000. – 163 p.

Notes, made by me, are small and does not reduce the positive value of the book as a textbook for students. If they will acquire at least part of the material – then have a good idea of the subject.

Juri Mikulski (2010)

Jury Mikulski Smoleński ośrodek latopisarski w latach 20-50. XV w. – Białoruskie zeszyty historyczne, 2010, № 33, s. 17 – 49.

J. Mikulski, joining in the key theses to the predecessors, a little clarified the picture of forming chronicles of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which was not limited to Smolensk.

Catherine Kirichenko (2006 – 14)

Kirichenko K. Materials for the history of Poznan Code number 94 (Raczynski codex). – Ruthenica (Kyiv), 2006, vol. 5, pp. 214 – 231.

Kirichenko K. Galician-Volhynian chronicle and the creation of legendary part of chronicles the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. – Ukrainian Historical Journal, 2012, No 6, p. 111 – 129.

Kirichenko K. Methods of compilers legendary part of chronicles the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: the case of borrowing from Hypatius chronicle. – Ukrainian Historical Journal, 2014, No 2, p. 177 – 203.

In general, the articles C. Kirichenko maintain the high reputation of the Kiev research center for chronicles the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. A large part of them coincides with my observations, and a number of others can accept. There are not at all knowingly false positions, and those that raise notes, are controversial and require further research.

Abbreviations

- AKS** – Annals of King Sigismund, part of the "Lithuanian" chronicle
AV – Acts of Vytautas, part of the "Vytautas" chronicle
BilL – "Belarusian" chronicle
Bil0L – Hypothetical protograph copies Bil1L – Bil4L
Bil1L – **Bil6L** – copies of "Belarusian" chronicle
CMF – Chronicle Metropolitan Photius (hypothetical chronicle of the 1410 – 1427)
EMF – epitome (abbreviated chronicle) Metropolitan Photios (hypothetical chronicle, brought to 1427).
GDL – abbr list Great Duchy of Lithuania
GVL – Galician-Volhynian chronicle, part of the Hipatios chronicle for 1203 – 1292 [PSRL, vol. 2]
LitL – "Lithuanian" chronicle
Lit0L – hypothetical protograph all the "Lithuanian" chronicles
Lit1L – **Lit8L** – copies of the "Lithuanian" chronicle
LRP – Legend of the Russian princes, part of "Belarusian" chronicle
MemV – Memorial of Vytautas
MTL – Moscow-Tver Chronicle, part of the RogL and SimL for the 1375 – 1411.
MTG – Moscow-Tver group of chronicles (TL + SimL + RogL)
N1LMI – Novgorod 1st chronicle younger recension [[First Novgorod Chronicle](#) senior and junior recension. – Leningrad, 1950]
N4L – Novgorod 4th chronicle [PSRL, vol. 4]
NKL – Novgorod Karamzin's chronicle [PSRL, vol. 42]
PSRL – Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles
PV – Praise of Vytautas, part of the "Vytautas" chronicle
RogL – Rogozhsky chronicle [PSRL, vol. 15, ch. 1]
S1LSI – Sophia 1st chronicle older recension [PSRL, vol. 6, ch. 1]
SCL – "Short chronicle Lithuania", part of the "Lithuanian" chronicle
SCR – story about the congress rulers, part of the "Vytautas" chronicle
SimL – Simeon chronicle [PSRL, Vol. 18]
SMF – scribe Metropolitan Photios (hypothetical person, the author of CMF)
SNG – Sophia-Novgorod group of chronicles (S1LSI + NKL + N4L)
TL – Trinity Chronicle
TOŠ – "Tale of Švitrigaila", integral part of "Vytautas" chronicle
TOV – "Tale of Vytautas," the first part "Vytautas" chronicle
TPL – "Tale of Podillja land", an integral part of "Vytautas" chronicle
VitL – "Vytautas" chronicle
Vit1L – **Vit7L** – copies "Vytautas" chronicle
WIN – The words of Isaac of Nineveh, manuscript 1428 with "Praise of Vytautas"